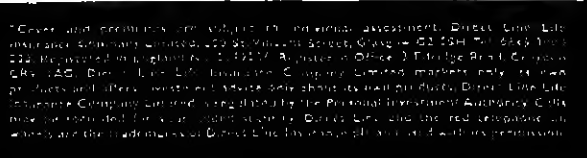




**G2 pages 12-13**







## In *The Guardian* tomorrow: Eric Cantona, movie star, reveals all

+ Francis Wheen, Britain's most irreverent columnist + Society pages + European weather forecast

### Sketch

## Harriet's hotline for coughing up



Simon Hoggart

**H**ARRIET Harman yesterday announced the new, simpler way of assessing child support, after the numerous disasters ushered in by the CSA.

Apparently it'll be easy. As soon as the mother applies, the father will be contacted. "In most cases an assessment can be made over the phone. He can start paying right away," she said.

She sounded like one of those smiling young women who appear in the ads for phone services, such as insurance. Distracted, saying chap with wrench calls up. "We've flooded out," he cries. "Don't worry," says smiling young woman. "We'll post you a cheque for a million pounds, today!"

Ms Harman began with a generous, and typical, gesture towards the other side. "I seek to make no party political criticism of the previous government. We are all wiser with the benefit of hindsight," she said gravely.

I thought this could be because she was probably making her last important statement as Social Security Secretary, before what will be described as a "sideways" move to the Department of Paper Clips and Copiers.

But I suspect the real reason is that, back in 1992, the Labour Party willingly joined the mad rush to create the CSA. Blaming one party for the Act is as pointless as blaming a single football hooligan for the riot.

The gist of Ms Harman's plan is that every father pays a fixed proportion of his net income for each child, with no ifs and no buts. However, in case any ifs and buts turned up, there would be a tribunal to sort things out. One suspected that this body would be kept rather busy.

Iain Duncan Smith stood up and made a better response than usual. He warned that

things might look simple, but by the time the tribunal got to work on individual cases, the whole business could be quickly jammed up. What about pensions, what about long-term illness, what about debts from before the separation? His list went on and on. And, he might have added, what about blokes who ask for payment in twenties, so as to avoid income tax and VAT as well as child support?

Ms Harman replied at length, becoming more and more agitated. She started wringing her hands, and talking directly to the Speaker who, so far as I know, has no children and is thus able to afford holidays para-gliding off sunny beaches.

Douglas Hogg said the CSA should no longer do the job. "Return the whole process to the courts, or else to a quasi-judicial body," he suggested.

Some MPs could hardly believe their ears. Why was Mr Hogg making this grotesque suggestion? Was it merely because, as a lawyer, he wanted more jobs for lawyers? Or, bizarrely, perhaps he believes that lawyers make it easier to obtain justice — a view as discredited as the belief that Ordeal by Water is a reliable test for honesty.

Ms Harman slapped him down. The courts had produced wildly different judgments in similar cases. "The courts did not work!"

All day the Tories had been trying to raise the topic of the influence-peddlers at Number 10 and the scam which has risen up the murky diswater of New Labour. But it was Dennis Skinner who got it in. He praised Ms Harman: "If she gets it right, she could get the highest accolade — she could end up in Draper's list of 17 useful people."

But then perhaps the party is beginning to learn its lessons. Just before Ms Harman's statement, Linda Perham (Ilford N) asked about the effect of mortgage rises on the poor. She got a routine (i.e. unhelpful) reply from the minister, John Denham.

"I welcome that..." she said, then suddenly switched gear. "Well, actually, I don't welcome that answer at all. I'm just used to saying that kind of thing," and continued with a critical supplementary. It's good to see the road rebel against the harrow.

## CSA reform 'hits low-paid'

David Brindle, Social Services Correspondent

**M**INISTERS face a backlash over plans published yesterday to reform child maintenance, after it emerged that one of four mothers affected could be worse off while many poorer fathers would have to pay more.

The proposed changes are being defended by the Government on the slogan that it is better to get more fathers to pay, rather than to get fathers to pay more. But almost a third of fathers would have higher maintenance bills.

Although men with a net income of less than £200 a week would not face the full levy under the simpler formula, the Department of Social Security admits that the 30 per cent of fathers likely to pay more would typically have incomes on or below average.

Worryingly for the Government, fathers' groups last night criticised the plans, and lone-parent organisations seemed lukewarm.

Bruce Sawford, for the National Association for Child Support Action, said: "They have come up with a cheaper system, but the fundamental problems remain."

Ministers are anxious to ensure broad support, following the fiasco of the system introduced in 1993, which created the Child Support Agency and the current, highly complex formula for calculating maintenance payments.

Harriet Harman, the Social Security Secretary, told the Commons that the changes — set out in a consultative green paper — would replace this "Bryantian" formula with a simple scale based on percentages of net income.

"It relies only on identifying the number of children the father has, where the children live and how much in-

### Main points

Simple formula based on 15 per cent of net income for one child, 20 per cent for two and 25 per cent for three or more (where weekly net income above £200).

Minimum £5 a week to be paid where net income below £100; sliding scale where income £100-£199.

Only variation to be where children in second family: assessable net

income to be reduced by same percentages.

Right of appeal to tribunal with power to vary payments.

75 per cent of mothers to be better off; 70 per cent of fathers to pay less.

Changes to take effect in 2001. All cases to be reassessed, with phasing of payment changes.

ment of up to £10 a week for women and children living on income support — if the father met his obligation. At present, the Treasury keeps all money paid in such cases. The absence of any incentive has been seen as a prime reason for lack of co-operation among the million lone parents on income support. However, the on-payment would be £5-£10 a week where the father had weekly income below £200.

Liz Sewell, chief executive of the lone parents' pressure group Gingerbread, said the cash incentive "will ensure they are more willing to claim maintenance", but should be higher for two or more children.

The average assessment under the plans — designed to be cost-neutral to taxpayers — is expected to be £29 a week, compared to £38 at present, but compliance is forecast at 80 per cent or more rather than the current 66 per cent.

The changes require legislation and would not take effect for three years. In order to avert a collapse of the CSA in the interim, the green paper, *Children First*, also proposes to strengthen the agency. Ms Harman yesterday announced £12 million immediate extra funding.

Opposition MPs fear the changes may merely shift problems from the CSA assessment to the proposed tribunal system.

Iain Duncan Smith, shadow Conservative social security secretary, questioned how the huge backlog of existing CSA cases would be tackled now that there was a potential incentive to await the reforms.

Dafydd Wigley, president of Ffwd Cymru, warned: "There is a danger of going from a system that's too complicated to one that's too simplistic."

Children First: A New Approach to Child Support Stationery Office: £9.50

## 'Mason link' to foiled art theft

John Hooper in Rome

**I**TALY'S deputy prime minister hinted last night that the daring theft of three of the world's most famous and valuable paintings, which were recovered in dawn raids yesterday, might have had a political motive.

Police said they had no idea why the paintings, by Van Gogh and Cézanne, were seized six weeks ago from the Italian National Museum of Modern Art in Rome, but Walter Veltroni, who is also minister for the arts, suggested possible links with the P2 Masonic Lodge and the Armed Falcione.

Nicola D'Angelo, the police officer who led yesterday's raids in the capital, said the theft was not ordered by a collector. He said the hold-up on May 19 was the work of "a gang with interests in art, specialising in robberies, but not specifically art thefts".

The works were found after co-ordinated raids in Rome and Turin. Van Gogh's *The Gardeners* was found under a bed, wrapped in a plastic rubbish bag. Cézanne's unfinished masterpiece, *Le Cabanon de Jourdan*, and Van Gogh's *L'Arlesienne* were also recovered.

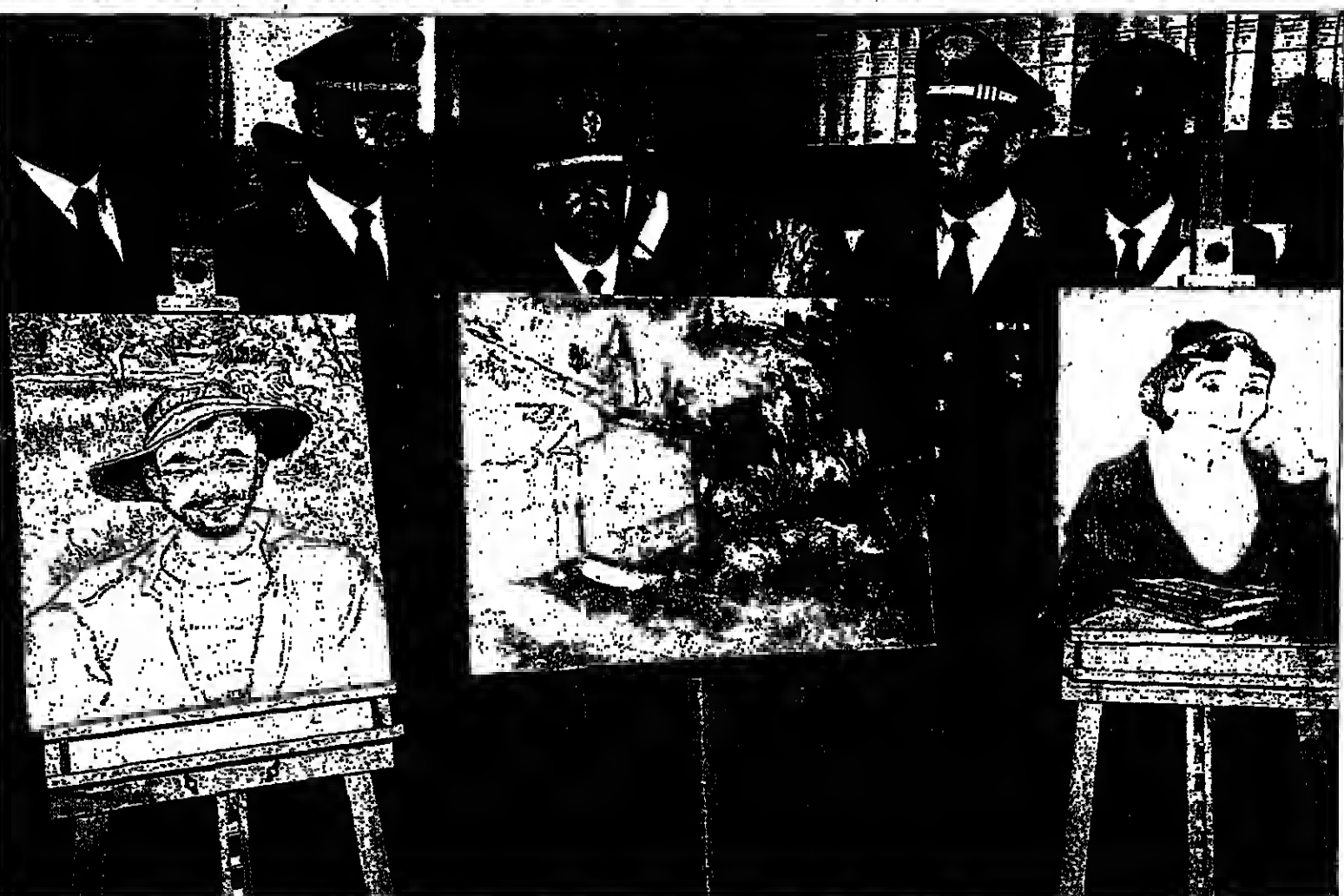
Eight Italians were arrested. One of two women detained was said by police to be a museum employee.

Mr Veltroni told a press conference the robbery had opened a "bleeding wound, and one Italy did not deserve".

He said the robbery coincided with a quiet but other art at the Palazzo Venezia in Rome. It coincided with a brief, "anomalous" period that had seen the disappearance from house arrest of Licio Gelli, head of the politically influential F2 Masonic lodge, and a rash of threats from the Armed Falcione.

Cryptically, he set the theft in the context of a "reflowering of events that had seemed to have vanished from this country". General Roberto Comfari of the paramilitary Carabinieri described the inquiry as being "like investigating a sort of kidnapping, rather than a robbery".

But the prosecutor in charge of the case, Italo Orsini, said the investigations have not finished. Indeed, they have scarcely begun.



Italian police show the recovered Cézanne painting (centre) and two Van Goghs whose theft may have had a political motive

PHOTOGRAPH: FLUJO LEPPI

### Review

## Sax man meets his solo mates

John Fordham

Michael Brecker/  
Roy Haynes  
Barbican

**I**T IS pretty hard to upstage Mike Brecker, the most influential saxophonist since his late hero John Coltrane. Whatever you play, Brecker can play it louder, faster, at wider extremes of the register, with more subtle variations of tone — and probably forwards, backwards and sideways as well.

But at the Barbican in the inventing America series, Brecker found himself playing opposite a band that filled about the only gap that exists in his astonishing virtuosity.

This was the opening trio, featuring the veteran drummer Roy Haynes, a stocky, vibrant figure of 72 who looks as if he has not yet been troubled by his 50th birthday.

Like the late Art Blakey, Haynes is a percussionist who makes drum patterns sound like the shifting intensities of high winds or tides, seamlessly musical effects at the other end of the jazz spectrum to straight displays of crowd-baiting skill.

By his side he had two virtuosos, the Panamanian pianist Danilo Perez and the double-bassist John Patitucci, a man who makes the big instrument sound as manageable and precise as a guitar.

Although the sound balance hampered Perez — whose shapely solos were often inaudible, but whose choppy chordwork mixed with Haynes's drums as if the pianist were a percussionist himself — the effect revealingly inverted the usual piano trio configuration, so that Haynes's dazzlingly varied

drumming took on the melodic role, Perez's chords the offbeats and accents, and Patitucci's fluent runs anchored the harmony.

The set was gripping from the word go, but the principal Haynes solo halfway through, beginning with a quiet, insistent bass-drum rumble and stormy mallet-work, erupting into explosive snare sounds and incandescent cymbal shivers, was the kind of jazz phenomenon that stays in the mind for years.

The triumph of the Haynes band was to downplay set pieces and listen like hawks. Mike Brecker, on the other hand, is out promoting an album, so his freedom to manoeuvre is reduced.

But no Brecker show ever sells an audience short, and this group is as conversational as Haynes's. It's just that the themes are faster and more intense, and the group sound (strongly influenced by the John Coltrane quartet, and lately by a strong McCoy Tyner vibe) is very dense, so it's like a conversation between four people shouting.

They opened with a fast, skimming Brecker post-bop classic (*Slings and Arrows*, an old favourite), and the Tyner influence was quickly apparent in the churning, insistent El Niño, over James Genus's richly singing ostinato bass.

Joey Calderazzo played an exquisite piano overture to Cat's Cradle, an otherwise colourless tune, but Brecker's unaccompanied solo blast on *Delta City Blues* — he makes himself sound like an entire bar room rhythm 'n' blues band with awesome use of the lowest notes on the horn and flying runs in between — was the kind of performance no other saxophonist on the planet can touch.

## 'Sop' to Orangemen

Parades Commission opens route through Belfast nationalist area

John Millin  
Ireland Correspondent

**O**RANGEMEN are to be allowed to march through a nationalist area in Belfast next week as the much criticised Parades Commission attempted last night to take the sting out of the Drumcree crisis, now in its third day.

Allister Graham, chairman of the commission, said the Ballynafeigh lodge in south Belfast would be allowed to parade down the Lower Ormeau Road on Monday. It has banned the three previous marches there, and the Orange Order voluntarily abandoned its annual parade on July 12 last year in an effort to defuse tension.

Mr Graham said: "We recognise the very deep sense of hurt that exists in the Orange community. We are trying to show that, just as we wanted to break the cycle as far as Drumcree is concerned, we think it is sensible to break

the cycle on Lower Ormeau Road."

There were skirmishes throughout Northern Ireland yesterday as Orangemen refused to move from fields by Drumcree Church, outside Fortadown, Co Armagh. They said they would stay until they were allowed to march down the nationalist Garvaghy Road. The commission has banned them from their traditional route.

Mr Graham said: "Contrary to accusations from many quarters, we are not being influenced by political expediency. Nor are we out to support or restrict any individual organisation or faction."

The commission ruled that 17 of 28 Orange marches next Monday should be re-routed or restricted. But the most crucial was the Lower Ormeau Road.

Gerard Rice, spokesman for the road's residents, said the commission had bowed to the threat of violence. He announced they would seek a judicial review.

Mr Rice added: "It will make no difference as far as the Garvaghy Road is concerned. It just means pain for this community and we have to go through another year before this boil is lanced."

Rod Lister, district master of the Ballynafeigh lodge, called the commission inept.

The mood at Drumcree was muted. Hundreds converged on the fields at night, blockaded with trenches, barbed wire and steel barriers. But only a few hundred slept there, and the security force approach is to allow the peaceful protest.

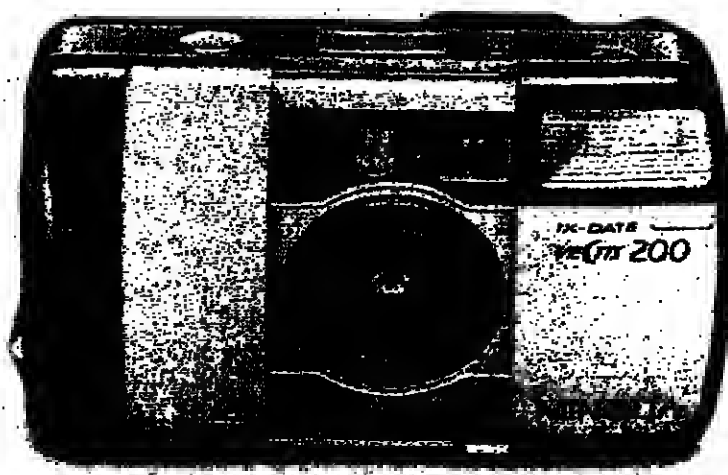
The protesters erected loudspeakers to deliver their own message to the Garvaghy Road. They called it Radio Orange, banging the loud Lambeg drums into the night.

Almost 3,000 police and soldiers were on alert last night, as the Orange Order prepared to deliver the push for peace. But he denied a report that he had threatened to resign.

David Trimble, first minister, spoke with Church and Orange Order leaders, warning the dispute could destabilise the push for peace. But he denied a report that he had threatened to resign.

Daybreak at Drumcree, page 4

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Liz Hurley and Hugh Grant, ranked sixth, and Salman Rushdie, who despite the future is also deemed a highly desirable guest



## Elton John top of party chart

Sarah Hall

**W**HEN it came to his 50th birthday party, he lavished \$200,000 on a fancy-dress ball, hiring out the Hammerstein Palais — and a removal van to transport himself in his 250,000, eight-foot-high costume.

He led the peace agreement celebrations at Stormont, and took centre stage at the funeral of Diana, Princess of Wales. So it should come as no surprise that Sir Elton John receives more party invitations than anyone else.

The multi-millionaire singer-songwriter tops a list compiled by *Tatler*, the upper-crust social bible, of the 250 most sought-after guests at the 250 most flamboyant parties in the nation.

The figures were gleaned by sifting through the 75,000 names on guest lists — from lavish corporate events to the society wedding of Hello! staples Henry and Lili Dent-Brocklehurst. Each invitee was given an "invite-rate", with Sir Elton receiving 187 out of a possible 250 invitations — and so a 74.8 per cent score.

The 51-year-old Watford football club chairman was hotly pursued by Ed and Carol Victor, the flamboyant literary agent and law-

### Who's it

1 Sir Elton John; 2 Ed and Carol Victor; 3 Lord and Lady Palumbo; 4 Mick Jagger and Jerry Hall; 5 Viscount and Viscountess Linley; 6 Hugh Grant and Elizabeth Hurley and Jay Jopling and Sam Taylor Wood — Old Eborac at dinner and artist; 7 Emma and Jodie Kidd — make-up artist and model; 8 Bryan and Lucy Farrow — musician; 9 Tony and Cherie Blair and Conrad Black and Barbara Amiel; 10 Sir Anthony and Lady Bamford — chairman of JCB; 11 Lord and Lady Cooper — publisher and author; 12 Sir Charles and Lady Powell — political adviser; 13 Tara Palmer-Tomkinson — it girl; 14 Lady Annabel Goldsmith — widow of Sir James; 15 Nicky Haslam — interior designer; 16 The Hon Sir Piers and Lady Fawcett — hotelier; 17 Lord and Lady Hinch — chairman of Christie's International; 18 Salman Rushdie — novelist

yer, former Arts Council chairman Lord Palumbo and his wife, and Mick Jagger and Jerry Hall, the ultimate celebrity couple.

Viscount and Viscountess Linley, the highest-scoring royals, come in at number five, followed by showbiz's regal equivalent, Liz Hurley and Hugh Grant. Tony and Cherie Blair just make it into the top 10 — and share their slot with Telegraph proprietor Conrad Black and his wife Barbara Amiel.

*Tatler* editor Jane Procter said the list — which boasts only 52 titled individuals and couples and a raft of models, actors, artists, entrepreneurs, restaurateurs and politicians — reflected the increasing fluidity of the social system.

"The old rule about it taking three generations to become an aristocrat has shifted, and there are now more recent aristocrats."

She said celebrities ensured parties were snapped for the social pages of the likes of *Tatler*, or *Harpers & Queen*. "People want paparazzi fodder at their parties."

"But they also invite people who they know are good at parties. That's why you get someone who's relatively unknown like Ed Victor at number two — he's just great fun," she added.

Of Sir Elton, she said: "He comes highest because he touches so many different worlds: football, pop, fashion, films, shopping."

A spokesman said Elton John was surprised, and played down his party-animal label. "He doesn't go out that much and tends not to accept these invites because he's out of the country most of the time. He tends to entertain at home — and he's happy with his own company."



Elton John getting into the party mood and, nine places behind him in the list, the Blairs



## Radio 3 chief quits to shape BBC coverage of millennium

Dan Glatzer  
Arts Correspondent

**H**E outraged a generation of listeners, who held him responsible for a decline in standards of pronunciation. But others see him as the saviour of a moribund classical music station as he dragged it into the modern age.

After six years of struggling to turn BBC Radio 3 around, Nicholas Kenyon is leaving as controller to take charge of the corporation's millennium programmes. For a further five years he will continue to manage the Proms.

Announcing his move yesterday, Mr Kenyon said: "I've had a challenging and exhilarating time at Radio 3 and, with the help of many colleagues, have taken the network forward while enhancing its commitment to new work and live music."

His last reform at Radio 3, announced late last year, went against the Classic FM blueprint many had accused him of following. Instead of opting for light presenters and an easy-listening format, he brought in comparative heavyweights such as Richard Baker and Joan Bakewell.

But Mr Kenyon always worked within the confines of

the market. It was incumbent upon him, he argued, to increase audience share. At what point that mission should be sacrificed for the sake of the music was the shifting reality of his stewardship of Radio 3.

Will Wyatt, BBC Broadcast chief executive, said: "He has proved an outstanding impresario, mounting memorable and innovative broadcasting events as well as sustaining the Proms as one of the glories of British cultural life."

The Proms, too, came in for criticism under Mr Kenyon. This year's events feature George Gershwin and Bohm, while last year's had music by Frank Zappa.

Speaking of his new role, Mr Kenyon said: "There is a huge opportunity to make the most of the vast range of talent across the BBC to create a unique celebration of the millennium. We can offer something for everyone, and draw the nation together to reflect on the past, celebrate the moment and look to the future."

Millennium coverage will include a TV history of Britain by Simon Schama and a radio oral history of the 20th century. The BBC has also expressed interest in broadcasting the celebrations in the Millennium Dome on New Year's Eve 1999.

## Isle of Wight dinosaur was 'graceful, awesome killer'

John Ezzard

**A** NEW breed of swift, hunting dinosaur — a third bigger than the velociraptors in the film *Jurassic Park* — has been unearthed in Britain, it was claimed yesterday.

The creature was 15-16ft long, with a huge tail and monstrously long hands and claws, according to the palaeontologist Steve Hutt, curator of the geology museum at Sandown, Isle of Wight. "Nothing quite like it has been seen before. It was incredibly graceful as well as being very tough."

Its remains, sunk in a cliff on the island's south coast, were found by an amateur fossil collector and will be discussed on Radio 4's *Dinosaur* programme today. Mr Hutt said the creature was a previously unknown

species of dinosaur which combined grace and speed with awesome killing ability. Its checks with museums around the world had shown it was new to science.

The animal, whose teeth are preserved with minute cutting edges, had 3ft long arms, 6ft long legs and a tail 8ft or 9ft long. "It would have looked a little like a miniature *Tyrannosaurus Rex*. It was ground-dwelling, lithe and whip-like. It moved very fast as it hunted."

Unearthed so far are a part of the skull, the hands and arms, pieces of the feet and the tail, and ribs and other vertebrae.

A year ago Mr Hutt discovered Neovenator salerii, a 26ft smaller version of *Tyrannosaurus Rex*, on the same site. He said the new find had been examined by Dave Martill of Portsmouth University.

## Day breaks over Drumcree

Stuart Millar finds morale high among Orangemen at encampment as marchers prepare for day two of stand-off

**F**ROM cars and vans they stirred, shaking the feeling back into limbs after an uncomfortable night. At 5am yesterday, the Orangemen in a field opposite Drumcree parish church, their sashes and collarettes in place, were already preparing for day two of their stand-off.

They moved grudgingly about their business after an hour or two of sleep snatched when the field had eventually fallen quiet, though never completely still. Twice army and police in riot gear had moved towards the lines of barbed wire between the Orangemen and the nationalist Garvaghy estate. "They're moving in," they shouted, bringing people leaping from their cars, some stumbling down the road to the barricades as they tried to pull on their shoes.

Yet none was showing any hint of wanting to go home. "It isn't too comfortable in the car," said Mark Smith, a fireman. "But I'm well used to a bit of sleep deprivation, so it is no problem at all. And what we're doing is for the best."

In the sombre light of morning, the scene contrasted with the almost carnival atmosphere a few hours earlier. Then the field that has become a sprawling Orange encampment bustled with hundreds of men digging in for the night.

As darkness fell, fast food stalls did a roaring trade as thousands of supporters, three or four generations of a family in many cases, flooded in to show solidarity with their brethren. It was a heavy display of defiance, tinged with frustration, which signalled clearly their intention to stay for as long as it takes. Ian Paisley underlined that uncompromising message. His appearance just before midnight sent a roar round the crowds.

The Democratic Unionist leader does not approve of activity on Sundays. So at 12.01am yesterday the beating

of a lambeg drum hushed the crowds before another flute band marched down the barricades and back to the church gates. An hour later Mr Paisley made the same journey. "This is a battle that must be won," he told them. "No ifs, no buts."

Five hundred yards away across the "sterile zone" enforced by the security forces, the Garvaghy Road was virtually deserted, the tension of Sunday replaced by a gradual boredom. Residents were beginning to believe the RUC's promise not to let the Orangemen through.

But on the Orange side of the battle lines people remained confident. "We have settled in here now," said David Jones, Portadown Orange order spokesman. "There are only two ways we are leaving: one is if they let the parades through; the other is if the army and police come in and force us back. But even if they force us all the way back to the Orange hall in Portadown, we will stay there and they will have to stay with us."

He spoke as the mood lifted again among the Orangemen. Elsewhere, Northern Ireland has been warned of the cost of Drumcree to its tourist industry, but beside the barricades, where children clambered over concrete blocks.

Across the field boys playing football by the barbed wire tossed cameras to troops on the other side and asked them to take a picture. The soldiers obliged, casually tossing the cameras back.

It could be a long haul. "Orangemen feel that they have given enough," said one senior member of the Tandra Lodge. "People feel that their way of life and their culture is being forced out."



An Orangeman in marching gear and (right) a soldier shaves in an army vehicle. PHOTOGRAPHS: CRISPIN ROWELL AND PAUL MACERLANE



## Parliament designer pushes the boat out

Dan Glatzer  
Arts Correspondent

**G**LASGOW has an armadillo, an Edinburgh is to have an upturned boat. Sir Norman Foster's armadillo shell design for a conference centre in Glasgow will be echoed by the new building for the Scottish parliament in Edinburgh. At least, that is the idea.

The competition to design the new parliament building was won yesterday by Catalan architect Enric Miralles, in association with Edinburgh-based RMM (Scott) Ltd. But Mr Miralles immediately refused to commit himself to his winning proposal, which was inspired by the upturned keels of boats.

Asked whether his plans would continue on the same theme, he said: "That's part of the suspense." Describing his initial plan as a "conversation," he said: "I am trying to do a fantastic building. It will be beautiful and in a beautiful location."

Mr Miralles, whose previous projects include a new town hall in Utrecht and an archery pavilion for the 1992 Barcelona Olympic Games, was praised by Scottish Secretary Donald Dewar, announcing the winner from an initial entry of 70, which was cut to a list of five.

"He is an architect with an international reputation with a very impressive record. I am certain that we have made a very sound and imaginative decision," Mr Dewar said.

The proposal had won because of the Catalan architect's "energy, imagination and creative approach to designing a

parliament building within the World Heritage Site at Holyrood.

"The panel liked the sensitivity and scale of his initial ideas, which provide a blueprint for an exciting new building at the foot of the Royal Mile that sits well with the spectacular backdrop of Holyrood Park and Salisbury Crags."

Professor Andy McMillan, one of the panel who chose the finalists, said: "It is going to be a group of quite small public buildings with a debating chamber which will stress that the parliament is not adversarial."



Enric Miralles with his design right. PHOTOGRAPHS: MURDO MacLEOD, DON McPHEE

مكتبة الامم المتحدة



Businessman who swindled clients of millions murdered associate whose identity he had stolen □ Rolex watch proved vital clue

# Conman murdered to hide double life



Victim Ronald Platt: thrown into the sea

Walker hit him over the head with a 10lb anchor



Sheena Walker: fled Canada with father and changed name



Albert Walker: turned killer to avoid his change of identity being exposed

Nick Hopkins

**A** FUGITIVE businessman who escaped to Britain and began a new life with a stolen identity was convicted of murder yesterday.

Albert Walker killed Ronald Platt because he feared being exposed. He had assumed Mr Platt's name and used his driving licence, birth certificate and bank accounts to shield him from the police.

When Mr Platt, aged 51, was on the verge of discovering his secret, Walker hit him over the head with a 10lb anchor and threw him over the side of his yacht, the Lady Jane, into the Channel.

Walker made one mistake. He left Mr Platt wearing his Rolex Oyster watch. It provided detectives with details

that identified his body and set them on a trail which finally led to Walker.

Sentencing Walker to life imprisonment, Mr Justice Butlerfield said the murder was "a callous, premeditated killing".

The jury at Exeter Crown Court took two hours to find the 52-year-old guilty, ending an 11-day trial which exposed his convoluted double life.

Walker fled Canada in December 1994 during a divorce battle with his wife, Barbara. A successful financial consultant, he feared he would be bankrupted by the settlement.

Walker, of Woodham Water, Essex, disappeared with his 15-year-old daughter Sheena, taking with him millions of dollars stolen from his clients.

When the Canadian police investigated the fraud, they contacted Interpol. However,

the charismatic businessman had covered his tracks.

After touring Europe, he and Sheena settled in a flat in west London. Walker changed his name to David Davis — one of the men he had defrauded — and Sheena became known as his daughter Noelle. They remained in the capital for eight months before moving to Harrogate.

During a visit to North Yorkshire to find a house, Walker met Elaine Boyes, an assistant at an antiques shop. He discovered that she and her boyfriend, Ronald Platt, dreamt of emigrating to Canada, and promised to help them realise their ambition.

He made them directors of an electrical repair company but retained control of the firm's finances, using the account to launder money.

In 1992, on Christmas Day, Walker gave the couple one-

way tickets to Calgary.

Within two months, Mr Platt and Miss Boyes were on their way. Mr Platt handed Walker personal documents for safe keeping, once the couple were out of the country. Walker began calling himself Ronald Platt, and his daughter now became his wife Noelle.

However, his new life was soon under threat. Miss Boyes returned to the UK within three months. She tried to meet Walker, but found him unfriendly on the phone.

Two years later Mr Platt also came home, penniless and depressed, and turned to Walker for help. He could not find work, was drinking heavily and was probably aware that Walker was using his name for business purposes.

"We believe he regarded Mr Platt as a serious risk to his

new life," said an officer in the inquiry.

In July 1996, the two men went to Totnes, south Devon, for a short holiday. On the July 20, Walker lured Mr Platt on to his yacht and sailed four miles out to sea. During the voyage, he hit Mr Platt with an anchor, tucked it into his trousers and threw him overboard.

The inquiry would have come to nothing if Walker had thought to remove his watch. Although it was not engraved, it had service details on the inside which enabled experts to identify Mr Platt as the owner.

Speaking to Mr Platt's friends in Harrogate, detectives found a mobile phone number for Mr Davis — Walker's first alias.

The police realised something was afoot when an officer went to see him. Neigh-

bours told the officer that Ronald Platt lived in the house Walker had given as his address, not Mr Davis.

The watch also provided the police with essential clues. It had stopped at 11.35 on July 22. The model was built to continue ticking for 40 hours after it had been last wound, giving detectives a good idea when Mr Platt had died. A global positioning sys-

tem on Walker's boat showed it had been in the area where Mr Platt's body was found, and one of Mr Platt's fingerprints was discovered on a plastic bag on the yacht.

After the verdict, Miss Boyes said: "Ron was extremely honest, kind and gentle. But he was conned — we were both conned. Right up until the last moments of his life he was being conned."

Walker's story has generated enormous interest among publishers and movie makers. Miss Boyes is writing a book about the tragedy, and two others — by Canadian journalists — are planned. Channel 4's Film on Four announced yesterday it would fund a full-length feature, produced by the independent film-makers Little Bird.

## Victim: Platt trusted his 'friend' to take care of him

Nick Hopkins

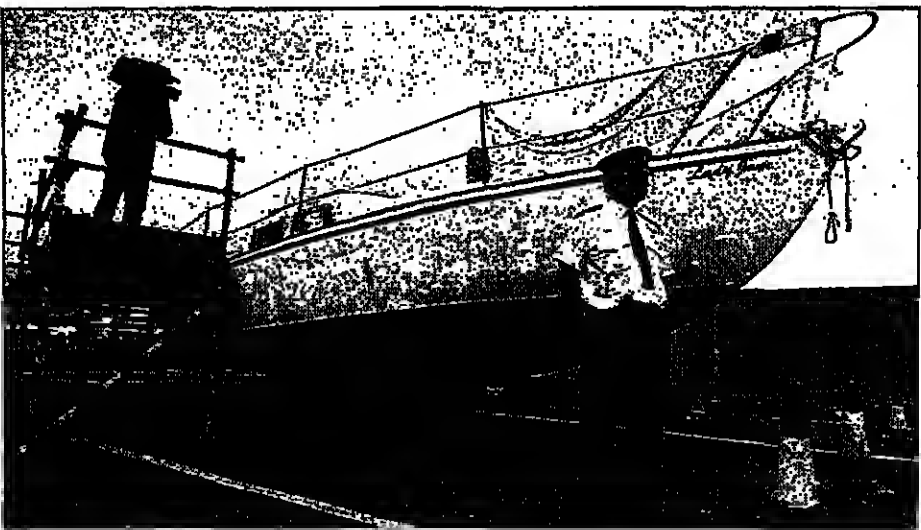
**R**ONALD Platt was a hapless figure who was easily manipulated by Walker. The court heard he failed at almost everything he tried. He thought Walker believed in him — a misjudgment that cost him his life.

Mr Platt was fascinated by Canada. He had moved there with his parents and younger brother, Brian, in the mid-1950s, aged 10, and stayed for six years. He regarded the country as his

spiritual home, and dreamt about returning.

Shortly after his 18th birthday, he joined the army, training as a wireless operator and mechanic. He married in 1965 and had a son, but his wife Brenda left him after only a few years. After resigning from the forces, he moved to Harrogate, north Yorkshire, as a TV repairman. There he met Elaine Boyes, a 21-year-old secretary.

When he first tried to emigrate, he left the UK without a valid work permit. After returning from Canada to the UK in 1995 he became seriously depressed. Walker's suggestion that they take a holiday in Totnes, south Devon, was regarded as a kindness. He trusted his "friend" to take care of him.



The yacht Lady Jane, on which the murder was committed in the Channel

## Killer: Calm, assurance and claim of dinner with Reagan

Nick Hopkins

**A**LBERT Walker was unflappable. A less arrogant man might have floundered as the prosecution unpicked the tangle of lies. Yet he was calm, showing the self-assurance which duped investors and almost engineered the perfect murder.

Born in Ontario, Walker had no economic business qualifications but relied on charm to attract a thousand clients for his invest-

ment business, Walker Financial Services.

He drove a Jaguar, wore designer suits and went on holidays to Europe. He claimed to have dined with Ronald Reagan, and to have shared champagne on Concorde with Rod Stewart.

In 1990, his wife Barbara discovered he was having an affair and filed for divorce. Walker was beside himself and threatened to kill her.

Police in Canada believe he realised his double-dealing was about to be exposed. He fled with currency and gold bars worth an estimated \$6 million to Switzerland and then Britain.

Thirty of his investors were left penniless, including pensioners who lost their life savings. Accountants are still trying to

trace his assets, though 12 gold bars and \$100,000 were found hidden at his home in Essex.

Walker fled accompanied by his daughter Sheena, then aged 15. She remained his constant companion, lying to protect him, and ultimately posing as his wife, Noelle.

She had two daughters, Emily, now aged four, and Lily, two, whilst she was living in Britain.

Both birth certificates list Ronald Platt as the father. But at no stage during Miss Walker's evidence did she refer to a relationship with the real Mr Platt.

The paternity was not addressed in court and Miss Walker, now back in Ontario living with her mother, has not clarified the issue.

## Sweet memories and a taste for nostalgia

Martin Walmsley

**S**OME of the world's most enticing recipes are to be rescued with the help of a government grant, after fears that dietary habits are driving them into oblivion.

Vast quantities of butter, lard and treacle recipes have been sent to researchers in North Yorkshire, who are organising this project with funds from the Countryside Commission. Nodden Cakes — a haymaking speciality, "holy" St Wilfred Tarts, and a

jammy dough ball called Kiss Me Pudding are back on the menu to test for quantities and ingredients.

"It's a case of save them now or lose them for ever," said Ann Johnson, head of the scheme, co-ordinated by Age Concern, whose clients are seen as a rich source of kitchen history. The pilot project will focus on recipes from rural parts of the North, where cookery relating to local customs was traditionally strong. Mrs Johnson is on the track of more than 10 types of elder-

flower champagne — a bargain drink at country weddings — and a concoction called Stamford Bridge Pear Pie, first cooked to celebrate King Harold's victory over the Danes in 1066.

"The idea came from chat among pensioners at our day centres," she said. "It was obvious that they had a vast knowledge of recipes which we never hear of nowadays. There's also been enormous debate over the correct way to make Yorkshire Pudding. One elderly woman insists that her mother was only

happy in winter, when she could add snow."

The £2,500 Countryside Commission grant will fund testing and research, with hotels and colleges enlisted to experiment with oak-leaf wine and Tadmorden Cumbie. The project is likely to be copied nationally, after the success of similar studies of dialects and rural customs.

**Kiss Me Sweet** Mix energetically ¼lb butter, ¼lb sugar and ¼lb flour with ½ teaspoonful bicarbonate of soda and two eggs. Knead into

rough shape, spread with two tablespoonfuls raspberry jam, steam for two hours.

**MacTyke Pudding (Yorkshire pudding with oats)** Soak and then wring dry ¼lb breadcrust and mix vigorously in a well-greased, preferably unwashed tin with 3oz suet, two tablespoonfuls oatmeal, one egg, milk as consistency requires, two large onions, parboiled and chopped, two tablespoonfuls of sage and a pinch of marjoram. Cook for 45-60 minutes in a very hot oven.

Heleen Carter

**C**AROLINE Aherne, right, creator of the Mrs Merton Show, was taken to hospital early yesterday after apparently taking an overdose.

Police were called to her flat in Kensington in west London in the early hours after a relative was unable to get a response. The 34-year-old comedienne was released from hospital yesterday afternoon after treatment.

Last night she was at her

home being looked after by friends.

A Scotland Yard spokesman confirmed that police had found only one person when they called and had summoned an ambulance.

Her press officer, Carmel Morgan, said: "I have spoken to her several times since she has been released from hospital and she is okay — I think

that she will rise above this.

At the moment she is writing a Mrs Merton sitcom and episodes of the Royal Family."

Ms Morgan denied that the drama had been caused by Ms Aherne's breakup with her boyfriend, Alexis Denisof, in February. Her former lover, Matt Bowers, died of stomach cancer last year.

In the Mrs Merton shows on BBC, she plays a sardonic

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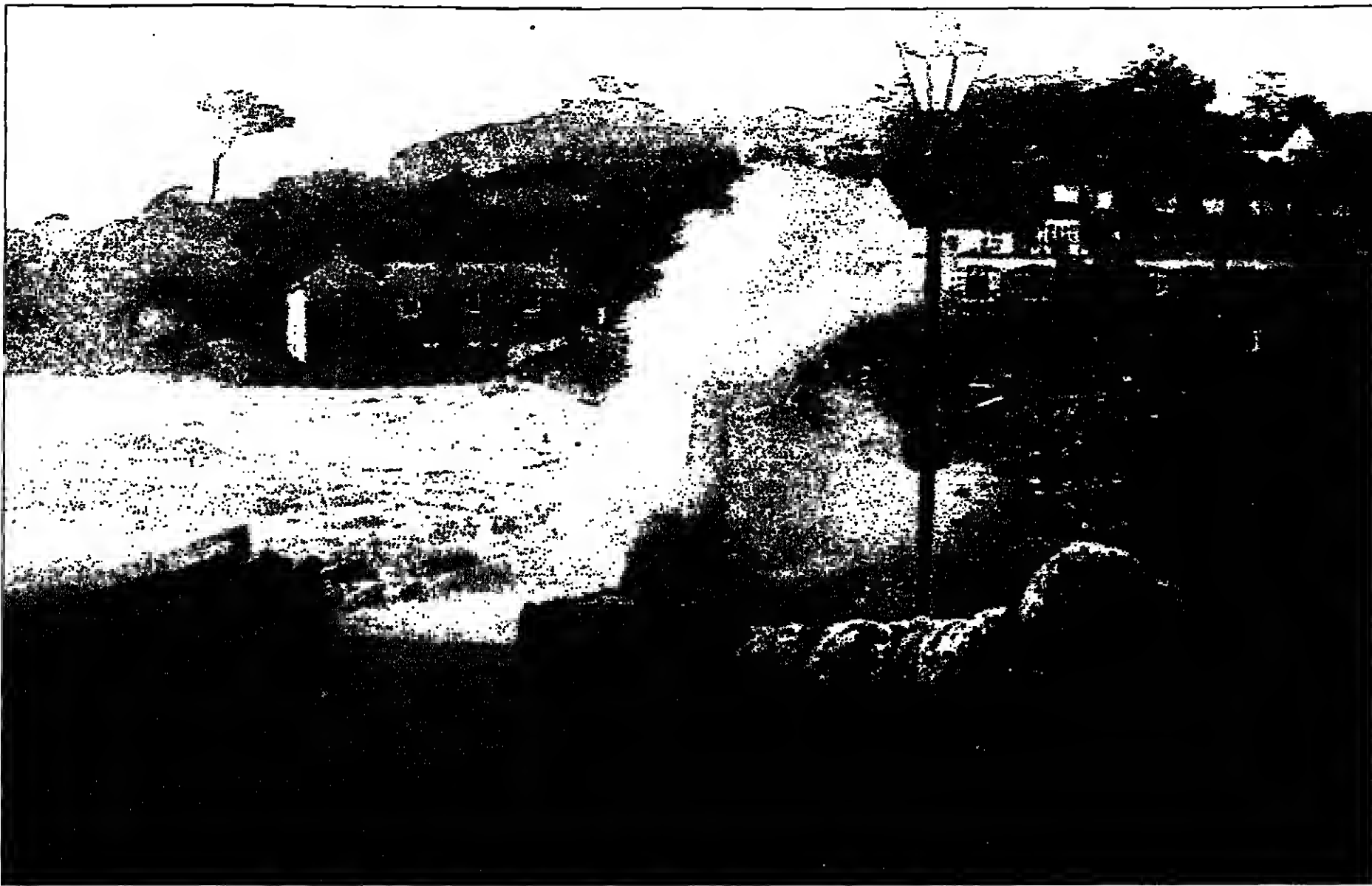
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The cottage at Lee in north Devon (background left) on a stormy day in October 1996 and, below, the newspaper contest

PHOTOGRAPH: GEORGE PHILLIPS

## Dream offer to be taken with pinch of salt

Seductive prose on prize cottage fails to mention storm damage

Amelia Gentleman

THE description sounds enchanting. "Set in a secluded bay with breathtaking views of the sea and the beautiful surrounding coastline", the 16th-century stone cottage is being offered as a lavish prize in a newspaper draw.

Few readers could have

failed to have been en-

thralled by the picture of

the Old Mill House, on the

hay of Lee, near Ilfrac-



combe, North Devon, con-  
jured up by the Daily Mail's  
competition blurb and the  
picturesque photographs.

But potential entrants

should beware. The de-

scription does not match up

to reality. The apparently

idyllic cottage which had

been on the market at

£195,000 could prove to be

more of a damp liability.

The paper promises mag-  
nificent sea views and says  
a lucky reader could wake  
up "every day to the sound  
of the waves lapping  
against the shore".

But it gives no hint that  
occupants could find them-  
selves swept away not just  
by the sight of the coastline  
but by the waves them-  
selves, which gush inside  
the house during the fiercest  
storms.

In the past the sea has  
smashed through the win-  
dows and flooded the  
ground floor to waist level.  
Occupants of the Grade II  
listed cottage used to live  
on the first floor to escape  
the regular flood danger.

The 1996 Hurricane Lili  
gave the previous owner,  
Vivienne Dobson, a taste of  
fame when her experience  
of the devastating floods be-

came national news. "The  
sea is in my blood," she  
said at the time. "Sadly, it's  
also in my living room."

The storm caused so  
much damage that she was  
forced to take the property  
off the market, all the fur-  
niture on the ground floor  
was smashed. "It was terri-  
fying. I was in the court-  
yard trying to keep the  
water out but the waves  
smashed through the  
french windows and the  
doors and the sea just  
flowed through the house."

The Mail makes no men-  
tion of the risk of flooding  
but, conscious that the  
stone building can appear  
bleak, brought in plants  
and flowers and tacked it  
to the walls for a more pic-  
turesque aspect.

Neighbour Gina Wills,  
47, who considered buying

the house three years ago,  
before deciding to buy a  
cottage set further back  
from the sea, said: "No  
flowers would grow there  
naturally, it's too exposed."

"If you come here on a  
sunny day, it is absolute  
paradise, but if there's a  
north-westerly wind blow-  
ing and the tide is high, you  
can get huge waves coming  
in. It is a beautiful building  
and it would be a dream  
cottage if it was just 100  
yards up the road."

The managing editor of  
the Mail, Lawrence Sear,  
denied the house was any-  
thing less than the "fabu-  
lous hideaway" promised.  
"The Old Mill has stood for  
over 400 years and has  
braved everything the ele-  
ments have thrown at it  
even during the 1996 hurri-  
cane," he said.

## Sun lays into 'dinosaur' BBC

Kamel Ahmed  
Media Editor

AFTER Tony Blair, the  
BBC. The Sun chose a  
new target upon which  
to vent its spleen yesterday  
with an excoriating attack  
describing the corporation as an  
overweight dinosaur.

In a leader column which  
immediately raised the issue  
of cross-media ownership, the  
newspaper said that the Gov-  
ernment should "cut off the  
supply of taxpayers' money"

to the BBC.

The Sun's owner, Rupert  
Murdoch, also has a major  
stake in BSkyB, the BBC's  
rival for viewers which is  
about to launch its own digi-  
tal television service.

Although BBC programmes  
will appear on Sky's service,  
the corporation is also back-  
ing Sky's digital rival, British  
Digital Broadcasting, which  
will launch towards the end  
of the year.

Digital television will give  
viewers who pay for the de-  
coders access to more chan-  
nels and will be the highest  
television revolution since  
colour.

"Today the BBC stands for

Big, Boring and Complacent,"  
the Sun article said. "BBC TV  
and radio should be told to  
broadcast adverts to pay for  
their programmes — and  
their bureaucracy."

"At least we might then get  
the programmes people want.  
Instead of the clatter that  
the public school and Ox-  
bridge BBC types think they  
should make as a 'public  
service'."

There was no mention of  
the link between the Sun and  
BSkyB in the article, which  
was not linked to any news  
story.

The BBC said that it was  
nonplussed by the attack. "I  
would put it down to there  
being a new editor," one  
senior BBC source said.

The new Sun editor, David  
Yelland, has already hit the  
headlines when he portrayed  
the Prime Minister as "the  
most dangerous man in  
Britain".

BSkyB dismissed any link  
between the leader and  
BSkyB's interests. "We are  
separate companies and we  
had no forewarning that this  
was happening," one execu-  
tive said.

Leader comment, page 11

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## Tobacco firms win a hearing

Clare Dyer  
Legal Correspondent

FOUR tobacco compa-  
nies yesterday won  
the go-ahead for a  
High Court chal-  
lenge to a report  
calling for bans on tobacco  
advertising and smoking in  
public places.

British American, Gal-  
laher, Imperial and Rothmans  
are to seek an injunction ban-  
ning the Government from  
taking the report of the Scien-  
tific Committee on Tobacco  
and Health (ScotH) into ac-  
count in formulating a white  
paper on smoking.

Mr Justice Moses said it  
was arguable that the report,  
published last March by  
ScotH — the Government's  
main advisory body on smok-  
ing — contained passages  
which might do "commercial  
damage" to the tobacco com-  
panies. It was also arguable  
that they should have been  
consulted and given the  
chance to comment before it  
was published.

The report suggested the in-  
dustry was targeting the  
young and vulnerable to  
recruit the 300 new smokers a  
day needed to replace those  
who died from smoking-  
related diseases.

The judge in the High Court  
gave the companies leave to  
seek judicial review of the  
report, which they claim was  
flawed because it gave them  
no chance to reply to criti-  
cism, addressed areas outside  
its stated terms of reference,  
and rejected the companies'  
submissions without giving  
scientific reasons.

But the Department of  
Health said that all but one of  
the industry's complaints had  
been rejected by the judge.  
Leave to seek judicial  
review was granted "on the  
narrow point" that ScotH  
should have consulted the in-  
dustry before including the  
opinions of a marketing per-  
son on the industry's market-  
ing and promotional strategy.

The decision did not impugn  
the accuracy of the advisory  
body's conclusions, the de-  
partment said in a statement.  
The industry claims it was  
frozen out by ScotH after hav-  
ing been fully consulted by its  
predecessor, the Independent  
Scientific Committee on  
Smoking and Health. It says  
its input was sought on only  
one issue: that of passive  
smoking and lung cancer.

The companies say ScotH's  
recommendation of a ban on  
smoking in the workplace is  
not justified by the given evi-  
dence, which does not show  
any statistically significant

increased risk. The advisory  
body is expected to provide  
the evidence that will form  
the basis for the Govern-  
ment's pending white paper  
on smoking.

Jonathan Sumption, QC, for  
the companies — which  
together have 90 per cent of  
the UK market — told the  
court on Friday that the in-  
dustry had been "stung" by  
the "damning" report. In par-  
ticular, ScotH had adopted the  
opinion of a pharmaceuticals  
marketing manager that the  
tobacco industry was delib-  
erately setting out "to recruit  
new smokers to replace the  
ones... killed".

Chris Proctor, head of  
science and regulation for  
British American Tobacco,  
yesterday welcomed the High  
Court opportunity and de-  
scribed parts of the report ac-  
cusing the tobacco industry of  
targeting children and non-  
smokers as "absolutely  
outrageous".

Judge Moses said the ScotH  
report appeared to be an  
attack on the "commercial  
morality" of the tobacco com-  
panies. The advisory body

The industry was  
said to be trying  
to recruit new  
smokers to replace  
the ones killed

had chosen to record remarks  
which had the potential  
power to cause instant and ir-  
reparable damage.

Even though the "nature of  
the conclusions" reached by  
the advisory body were not  
open to legal challenge, it was  
arguable that ScotH should  
have paused to consider giv-  
ing the tobacco industry the  
opportunity to comment be-  
fore publishing the  
criticism.

Clive Bates, director of the  
pressure group ASH (Action  
on Smoking and Health), said  
the industry continued to  
deny the most basic facts  
about smoking. "They are act-  
ing like the King Canutes of  
the 20th century, trying to  
hold back a tide of fact and  
evidence that will eventually  
overwhelm their entire  
operation."

Angela Hilton, of the Brit-  
ish Thoracic Society, said:  
"This is a desperate attempt  
by the industry to sabotage a  
review which aims to inform  
the Government and the pub-  
lic of the serious conse-  
quences of passive smoking to  
the nation's health."

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# Death of a half-Cherokee cowboy sparing with the gun

Mark Tran in New York

AMERICA is mourning the death yesterday of Roy Rogers, its singing cowboy who epitomised decency and wholesomeness in a bygone era. He died, aged 86, at his Apple Valley home near Los Angeles.

President Bill Clinton paid tribute, saying Rogers' lengthy career reflected true American values. "I really appreciate what he stood for: the movies he made and the kind of values they embodied."

"Today there will be a lot of sad and grateful Americans, especially of my generation, because of his career."

Rogers kept up his musical career in recent years, releasing an album of old and new songs. Tribute, in

1991. It featured the country superstar Clint Black as a guest singer on one track. Hold on Partner.

Black said afterwards: "I respect him immensely. He's just a great human being, very devoted to his family, and he has great appreciation and respect for his fans."

A far cry from the macho John Wayne and Clint Eastwood's cold-blooded Man with No Name, Rogers found fame and fortune during the 1940s and 1950s with his guitar as much as his six-gun.

In a shoot-out he would knock the gun out of the villain's hand rather than drill him full of holes, an action which would have seemed unbefittingly quaint in later Westerns.

Rogers criticised the rougher, bloodier Westerns that followed.

"When I was a boy, our parents taught us that hitting below the belt was a cowardly thing," he once said. "I don't believe this kind of thing is 'entertainment', no matter how you look at it."

Rogers represented the "domestication of the notion of the cowboy", said Lee Zimmerman, professor of English at Hofstra University, New York.

"He has a nice outfit, nice spurs and, famously, has a wife — unlike your regular cowboy leading cattle in the middle of nowhere and hanging out in saloons. Rogers represents the flip side of the post-war cowboy — domestication — while John Wayne shows us the more belligerent side."

Rogers' first leading role was a singing cowpoke turned congressman in Under Western Stars, a com-

bination of Davy Crockett and Mr Smith Goes to Washington, promoting the myth of the independent American Westerner.

He was an instant hit, soon nicknamed King of the Cowboys. For 12 years — 1943 to 1954 — Rogers was the number one Western star at the box office.

He was a singing cowboy in virtually all his films, an exception being Dark Command, in which he played a trigger-happy man trying to settle whether Kansas should be a slave state.

In 1944 Rogers met Dale Evans in The Cowboy and the Senorita. They married and went on to make more than 20 films together, and a successful transition to television.

From 1951 to 1967 they starred in the Roy Rogers Show, Rogers riding his horse Trigger and Evans

her Buttermilk. Each week Rogers would save the West from some evil character and Evans would sing Happy Trails to You, the song she wrote for the show.

Rogers' character was stalwart and homespun, and he never really kissed the girl, so as not to alienate his legions of young male fans, though he sometimes kissed his horse.

He never misrepresented Native American characters either. Although it was never publicised, his father was a full-blooded Cherokee.

The film critic Leonard Maltin said: "He came from nothing. He earned everything he ever had and remained a modest, simple man. He portrayed himself as a good, honest man and that's what he was."

Obituary, page 12



"Nice outfit, nice spurs, and a wife." A studio portrait of Roy Rogers, domesticated cowboy. ARCHIVE PHOTOS

When I was a boy, our parents taught us that hitting below the belt was a cowardly thing. I don't believe this kind of thing is 'entertainment', no matter how you look at it

Roy Rogers

He came from nothing. He earned everything he ever had and remained a modest, simple man.

He portrayed himself as a good, honest man and that's what he was

Film critic Leonard Maltin



A Sikh policeman stands guard in New Delhi, where 2,000 Sikh nationalists protested against nuclear weapons yesterday. PHOTOGRAPH: JOHN MCCONNICO

## India 'may sign nuclear treaty'

Suzanne Goldenberg in New Delhi and Ian Black in London

INDIA is signalling a new readiness to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, but is demanding an end to sanctions and embargo on the transfer of nuclear technology.

The indication from senior government officials that New Delhi would even countenance signing the treaty — which it accuses of enshrining "nuclear apartheid" — is the first positive message since May, when its five nuclear tests shocked the world.

The signal comes on the eve of a meeting between the United States deputy secretary of state, Strobe Talbott, and a senior leader of the Bharatiya Janata Party, Jaswant Singh. The BJP is the leader of India's Hindu nationalist ruling coalition, and Mr Singh is a confidant of the prime minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee.

It also follows indications from Pakistan that it might sign the treaty without waiting for India, an apparent response to the sanctions imposed on Islamabad after its six-for-six tests.

Pakistan has reportedly

weaponised its bomb, to be delivered by long-range missile. India has not, though one senior source suggested it was close to doing so.

The world's five official nuclear weapons states — the US, Russia, China, France and Britain — had hoped to stop any such move by either country after the tests. But there were hopes last night that the international pressure was starting to work.

Yet while New Delhi appears prepared to abandon its implacable opposition to the treaty, it believes it can command a high price for its assent, pleading that it needs to convince a population that largely favours nuclear bombs.

"We have to turn around the consensus... against the CTBT in favour of the CTBT," a senior official said. "We have to show there are some benefits to signing."

India has been reluctant to acknowledge the impact of sanctions. But businessmen and foreign investors have been vocal about their fears, and the Bombay stock exchange and the rupee have been badly hit.

The willingness to discuss the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty does not extend to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, which New Delhi ar-

gues was made obsolete by its five test blasts.

However, officials said New Delhi would be willing to turn its moratorium on nuclear tests into a binding agreement, and to guarantee not to transfer technology.

Some experts argue that President Bill Clinton has staked so much of his reputation on arms control treaties that Washington no longer enjoys much leverage over New Delhi. Aside from the lifting of the sanctions, India is thought likely to try to extract an easing of a ban on the transfer of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes.

"India for the last 25 years has been treated as a rogue state as far as technology is concerned, although it is China that is doing the proliferating," Jasjit Singh, director of the Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis, said.

Pressure on both countries will continue at a meeting in London this week of officials from the Group of Eight leading industrial countries, and states such as South Africa and Brazil which have renounced nuclear weapons. But diplomats in New Delhi say India's beleaguered government has turned inward and is placing its coalition partners to stay in power.

## Rand plunges over new banking chief

David Beresford reports on the row over the appointment of Tito Mboweni, the first black to head South Africa's central bank

A SOUTH African newspaper ran a competition at the weekend inviting readers to suggest the best way to take a foreign holiday, without exceeding a tight budget of 100 rand — now less than £9 a day. In cheery encouragement it offered: "How the celebs would whoop it up."

Rugby captain Gary Teichman, speaking on the eve of his departure to Australasia to lead the Springboks in the Tri-nations series, suggested holidaying in neighbouring Zimbabwe, where Robert Mugabe has made a comprehensive hash of the economy.

Television talk-show host Felicia Mabuze-Suttle — the local counterpart to Oprah Winfrey — plumped for Atlanta, "because everyone wants to go to an Olympic city", recommending that tourists try the Salvation Army for accommodation.

Readers were having to

revise their holiday suggestions yesterday as the rand crashed a further 7 per cent on the news that the labour minister, Tito Mboweni, is to be the first black to head the country's reserve bank.

The appointment took the currency to 11.6 against the pound — a fall of 33 per cent since the end of May.

The business establishment rallied behind the South African government yesterday, "welcoming" its choice of governor, but their support was less than convincing. Opposition parties were strongly critical, protesting that the appointment of an African National Congress politician prejudiced the independence of the central bank.

The ANC reacted furiously yesterday, accusing them of racism — of needing to "create the false notion that blacks are incapable of running the country or the economy".

The government claims

that the appointment of Mr Mboweni follows a lengthy consultation exercise with, among others, the governor of the Bank of England, Eddie George, and the chairman of the United States Federal Reserve, Alan Greenspan.

Although the departure of Chris Stals — the world's longest-serving head of a central bank — was no surprise, and considered by many to be long overdue, the choice of Mr Mboweni to succeed him was, on the face of it, baffling.

The independence of the reserve bank from political influence has been an article of faith to which the ANC has subscribed. Enabling legislation specifies that the appointment must go to someone of "tested banking experience". Mr Mboweni has none.

The intention is to give him a crash course in banking between the time he stands down from cabinet, on July 18, and takes over the reserve bank when Mr Stals formally retires in August next year.

There is some suspicion that the decision reflects a strategy by Nelson Mandela's heir apparent, Thabo Mbeki, to extend political control to all sectors of government. Mr Mbeki announced

the appointment in the absence of Mr Mandela — aged 80 years this month and on the verge of retirement — who is visiting the Caribbean.

Mr Mbeki confirmed his commitment to economic rectitude last week when he forced the South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions to back off in their criticism of the government's economic policy.

But analysts are attributing the collapse of the rand in part to a fear among investors that, with debilitating interest rates, high unemployment and the prospect of a general election next year, Mr Mbeki will be forced into more populist economic measures with the connivance of the new man at the bank.

For Ladonna Leslie and her five-month-old baby, Lake Mary was the third shelter since Thursday. She had been told there was "at least smoke damage" to her home, possibly worse. "I just want to get right back and find out the worst."

Flagler was the area worst hit by fire and the evacuation was the biggest. The return will be the most chaotic. Thirty thousand people left the county in four hours on

## Florida fire evacuees face bitter return

Some homes have been razed, others have been looted while the owners sought shelter, reports Ed Vulliamy from Flagler county

A CHEER went up from among the caravans and plastic cups at Lake Mary High School, shelter to 300 people for the past four days. "The mandatory evacuation is lifted. You can go home."

The all-clear was sounded on television by Rick Gage, head of the emergency strike force in Flagler County, Florida, from which 40,000 people were ordered to evacuate last week as fire surged across the parched land.

More than 2,000 fires have scorched 474,000 acres in drought-stricken Florida since May, damaging or destroying more than 300 buildings. More than 70,000 people throughout the state were evacuated.

Despite Mr Gage's pleas to "take it easy", within seconds people were scrambling for their teddy bears, mementoes and dirty clothes, stuffing them into bags and heading for their cars. "If you can wait until tomorrow, that would be better," Mr Gage went on, but engines were revving and the great homecoming was about to begin.

"It's just great," John Soper said. "But we don't know what's waiting for us back there; we don't know if our homes are standing or not."

For Ladonna Leslie and her five-month-old baby, Lake Mary was the third shelter since Thursday. She had been told there was "at least smoke damage" to her home, possibly worse. "I just want to get right back and find out the worst."

Flagler was the area worst hit by fire and the evacuation was the biggest. The return will be the most chaotic. Thirty thousand people left the county in four hours on

Friday, but it will take much longer to get them back. Mr Gage assured residents: "Ninety-seven per cent of the properties in power areas have received little or no damage."

But he added: "The area is still at extreme risk of fire. Any lightning strike could start a major fire. I am asking people to go straight back home and for all sightseers to just stay away."

There will be a mandatory curfew from dawn to dusk, not least because of an ugly

community, and I urge you to be vigilant, to report any suspicious act you see."

In Flagler county Terri Wolf of Animal Protection spoke yesterday of an aspect of the disaster that has been overlooked: animals, domestic and wild.

The fires have created an environmental catastrophe on a scale yet to be reckoned with. Across the stricken areas, deer wander aimlessly, raccoon cadavers lie incinerated in the ashes, rattlesnakes take cover on beaches.

There has been an exodus of pets and many animals. Some went with their owners to the few shelters willing to take them and others have been rescued, but many have perished.

Ms Wolf said her teams have evacuated more than 500 horses, pigs and cows to centres around central Florida. "But there will be victims — dogs chained to trees, strays, some of them will have died. When you return home, you will likely see disorientated wildlife over the next few days. If you do, call us and we'll be bringing them in."

Elsewhere in central Florida, the homecoming was under way on Sunday night. In some cases a bitter one. In Brevard county, many residents returned to the town of Mims to find their houses ruined or burnt to the ground.

One woman, whose home was almost destroyed, broke down in tears: "We had just paid for it last fall. Now we'll have to start all over."

Frank Martin, the deputy sheriff, toured the town of Scottsboro, whose plight has been overshadowed by the scale of the disaster in Flagler county, for the first time on Sunday night.

Surveying a gas station and a row of houses gutted by fire, he said: "I didn't expect the devastation to be as bad as it is. I'm looking at things that have been familiar to me for years, and I don't recognise them now."

## Clinton visit to boost Yeltsin

James Meek in Moscow and Mark Tran in New York

BILL CLINTON is to visit Boris Yeltsin in Moscow in September, the Russian government announced yesterday — an important gesture of support to the troubled Russian president.

Mr Clinton, who had said he would not go to Moscow until the Russian parliament had ratified the Start-II nuclear disarmament treaty, is defying a congressional faction hostile to Russia. It is a sign that the White House wants to end speculation that China has replaced Russia as its favourite post-Marxist state.

There may be a more important reason: to see at first hand the extent of Russia's financial crisis, and to find out whether Mr Yeltsin is capable, physically, politically and constitutionally, of leading his country into the 21st century.

The US and Russian constitutions both limit elected presidents to two terms in office. But while Mr Clinton knows he must step down in 2000, Mr Yeltsin's aides are seeking a legal loophole to give him at least the chance of a third term. The Russian constitutional court is due to make a ruling next week.

The announcement, with its implicit message to Russia's desperate financial community that it can count on US backing to stave off a rubble collapse, was opportunistic, coinciding with fresh symptoms of economic malaise in Moscow and beyond.

The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development said it had sold its 8.6 per cent stake in the crumbling Russian commercial bank Tobokbank, and the interest rate Russia has to pay to borrow money to keep the country running rose to 90 per cent, nine times the inflation rate.

## Lack of experience worries critics

THE South African government was reassuring local journalists at the weekend that the startling appointment of Tito Mboweni to head the reserve bank had been long planned — a year, by one account, writes our correspondent in Johannesburg.

If this was the case, it seemed to have omitted to tell the outgoing governor, Chris Stals. Two weeks ago he said in an interview that his successor would need two qualifications: he or she

must be someone with real banking experience" and able to command the loyalty of staff. If the staff enthused at Mr Mboweni's appointment it will not be because of his banking experience, which is non-existent.

But he cannot be criticised for lack of ability. A graduate of the University of East Anglia, with a master's degree in development economics, Mr Mboweni, aged 39, is seen as one of the most capable members of South Africa's cabinet.

Under his direction the African National Congress

government has churned out a slew of labour legislation — most of it, however, seen as generous to a fault to the unions. He has been heavily dependent on left-wing advisers at the labour ministry, and in the exile years was reportedly a member of Nelson Mandela's hitherto secret South African Communist Party.

But he appears to accept South Africa's commitment to an open economy, saying at the weekend that trying to shield an economy from the effects of globalisation was like "trying to create

laws to limit the Internet". Characterised by the local Financial Mail as "supremely self-assured, opinionated, affable, cutting and easily bored", he has seemingly lost interest in the labour portfolio.

Considered an ambitious politician, he had been seen as capable of succeeding Thabo Mbeki in the presidency. But after the new appointment, he says he has no further political ambitions and envisages a subsequent career in academia.





Bosnian Serb Milan Kovacevic, seated, talks to a lawyer before a hearing of the United Nations tribunal yesterday. He was seized by the SAS last year. PHOTOGRAPH: FRED ERNST

## Serb goes on trial in first Bosnia war genocide case

Richard Norton-Taylor

**A** BOSNIAN Serb accused of overseeing atrocities against Muslims and Croats yesterday became the first person to stand trial for genocide during Bosnia's 1992-95 war in which more than 250,000 people died.

Milan Kovacevic is charged with genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity, including rape, torture, and killings in three notorious camps in north-west Bosnia — Keraterm, Trnopolje and Omarska, where orchestrated "ethnic-cleansing" was first publicised in the Guardian.

A former deputy mayor of Prijedor, and later director of the municipal medical centre, Mr Kovacevic was seized by an SAS snatch-squad last year, in an operation in which Simo Drijaca, Prijedor's former police chief, was killed while resisting arrest.

Mr Kovacevic, aged 57, pleaded not guilty to the 15 charges against him. If convicted, he faces a maximum life sentence.

and abused captives in Serb camps (right) shocked the world early in the war. Ed Vulliamy returns to Omarska, where in August 1992 he was the first newspaper journalist to report from the camp, and talks to the doctors who were in control



### Horror hidden beneath ice and lies

The Guardian alerted the world in August 1992 to the orchestrated ethnic-cleansing of Muslims and Croats by Serbs at the Omarska concentration camp, during the Bosnia war

The indictments say the three camps were operated in a way designed to destroy the Bosnian Muslim and Croat peoples as national, ethnic or religious groups, by subjecting detainees to a regime intended to kill them.

Sitting in the dock at the Hague war crimes court, Mr Kovacevic heard the prosecutor, Brenda Hollis, describe how camp guards "were free to

kill, torture and rape" with no intervention from superiors.

"In Omarska, people saw corpses every day... killings were routine in Keraterm," she said. There were so many dead bodies at Omarska that large trucks were needed to remove them from the camp, she said.

She said Mr Kovacevic was among a group of officials who engineered a violent

campaign to expel Bosnian Muslims and Croats from Prijedor between April and December 1992. He was the vice-president of the "crisis staff" which ordered attacks on non-Serb villages, the seizure and detention of Bosnian Muslims and Croats, and the establishment of prison camps, she said.

According to the prosecution, the atrocities began with

heavy artillery bombardments of non-Serb villages. Some survivors were executed, while many others were taken to the camps, where hundreds were tortured and killed.

Mr Kovacevic "acted with intent to commit genocide", Ms Hollis said. "Entire villages and hamlets were cleansed of non-Serbs."

The defence lawyer, Dusan Vucicevic, argued that as a civilian Mr Kovacevic was not responsible for acts committed by the police and military. "In almost each and every one of the allegations, there is a reasonable explanation. These facts negate [that]... my client had any responsibility," Mr Vucicevic said.

Comparing the Prijedor camps with those set up by the Nazis during the second world war, he said: "The charge of genocide is improper."

Mr Kovacevic is one of 27 detainees at the court's detention centre. The tribunal has indicted the former Bosnian Serb leader, Radovan Karadzic, and his military commander, Ratko Mladic, for genocide. Both are still at large.

### News in brief

#### Death squad officer breaks his silence

A FORMER policeman has broken his 20-year silence on the disappearance of two French nuns during Argentina's "dirty war", saying their bodies were put in a sealed drum and dumped in a river. Using the alias Mario Gómez, he told a reporter from Perfil newspaper that he was a senior officer in a federal police "task group" — the official euphemism for the death squads — during the 1976-83 military dictatorship. The nuns, Leonie Duquet and Alice Domon, who disappeared in 1977, are among thousands of people tortured in clandestine centres. Human rights groups estimate that 30,000 died. Their kidnapping has been blamed on a former navy captain, Alfredo Astiz, dubbed the "Blond Angel", a notorious death squad officer who was sentenced in absentia by French courts to life in prison. Mr Gómez said the nuns' disappearance was arranged by another navy officer, Jorge "Tigre" Acosta, but he did not say how they were killed. — *Reuters, Buenos Aires.*

#### Greek fires under control

FIREFIGHTERS yesterday extinguished most of the more than 180 brush and forest fires that had been raging throughout Greece since Saturday. More than two people died and dozens of houses were destroyed. Investigators are checking whether some of the fires were deliberately started, after more than two-thirds of the blazes began within an hour of each other on Saturday. Hot, dry winds and temperatures above 38C helped spread the flames, which consumed thousands of acres of woods and grassland. In the past, fires have been set by people hoping to evade legislation forbidding building in forest areas. — *AP, Athens.*

#### Lull in violence for Egypt

AN ISLAMIST lawyer who has defended members of al-Gama'a al-Islamiya, Egypt's largest Muslim militant group, was quoted yesterday as saying the group was observing an undeclared ceasefire. Montasser al-Zayyat told the Arabic-language newspaper Al-Hayat, based in London, that there had been a lull in violence since a statement issued by Gama'a leaders in exile in late January.

The statement said Gama'a was considering accepting a ceasefire call made by six Gama'a leaders jailed in Egypt. Gama'a, which is trying to turn Egypt into a purist Islamic state, claimed responsibility for the massacre of 58 foreign tourists and four Egyptians in Luxor in November, the bloodiest attack in its six-year armed struggle. — *Reuters, Cairo.*

#### Presidents defy UN embargo

THE presidents of Chad and Niger defied a United Nations air embargo by flying into Libya yesterday for special prayers to be led by Muammar Gaddafi to celebrate the Prophet Mohammed's birthday.

Idriss Deby of Chad and Ibrahim Bare Maïnassara of Niger will be joining thousands of representatives of Muslim organisations in the prayers in the northern seaside town of Al-Bayda, 865 miles east of the capital Tripoli.

State television said four other presidents — Alpha Oumar Konaré of Mali, Ahmad Tejan Kabbah of Sierra Leone, Yahya Jammeh of Gambia and Abdou Diouf of Senegal — were also in Libya. However, they came by road. — *AP, Al-Bayda.*

#### Disney strikers fight on

EURO DISNEY said it had reached an agreement with 15 striking technicians yesterday, leaving 40 performers in the parade of Disney characters locked in a pay dispute at the Paris theme park.

The company denies claims by the performers that 200 of the 13,000 staff are on strike. The performers are opposed to the company's condition that each must audition to receive the status of amusement park artist. — *AP, Paris.*

Black.  
Sleek.  
Beautiful.  
Amazing features.  
Tiny Brain.



Black.  
Sleek.  
Beautiful.  
Amazing features.  
Don't even think about it.

Exactly what part of the gorgeous Ms Campbell's body holds the most allure for people? Her legs? Her eyes? Her lips? Her breasts? Perhaps her brain? No, it's unquestionably her right hand. In which can be seen the Olympus Mju II.

In fact, Naomi herself fell so much in love with the Mju II (lucky camera, we say)

that for a whole year it became her constant and devilishly attractive companion as she travelled the globe modelling, meeting the great and the good and generally making the world a more beautiful place.

The photographs she took during this time can soon be seen in a forthcoming exhibition. These surprising, often funny and

sometimes moving pictures naturally owe a lot to Naomi's eye. In addition, they owe a lot to the technology that helped make the Mju II the European compact camera of the year '98.

Unlike many comparable compacts, it has a far superior 35mm F2.8 lens. It also has the all important anti-red-eye flash, a

unique weatherproof construction and it's as small as its £99 price tag. Finally, as you'd expect, it comes complete with auto load, auto rewind, auto exposure and auto focus.

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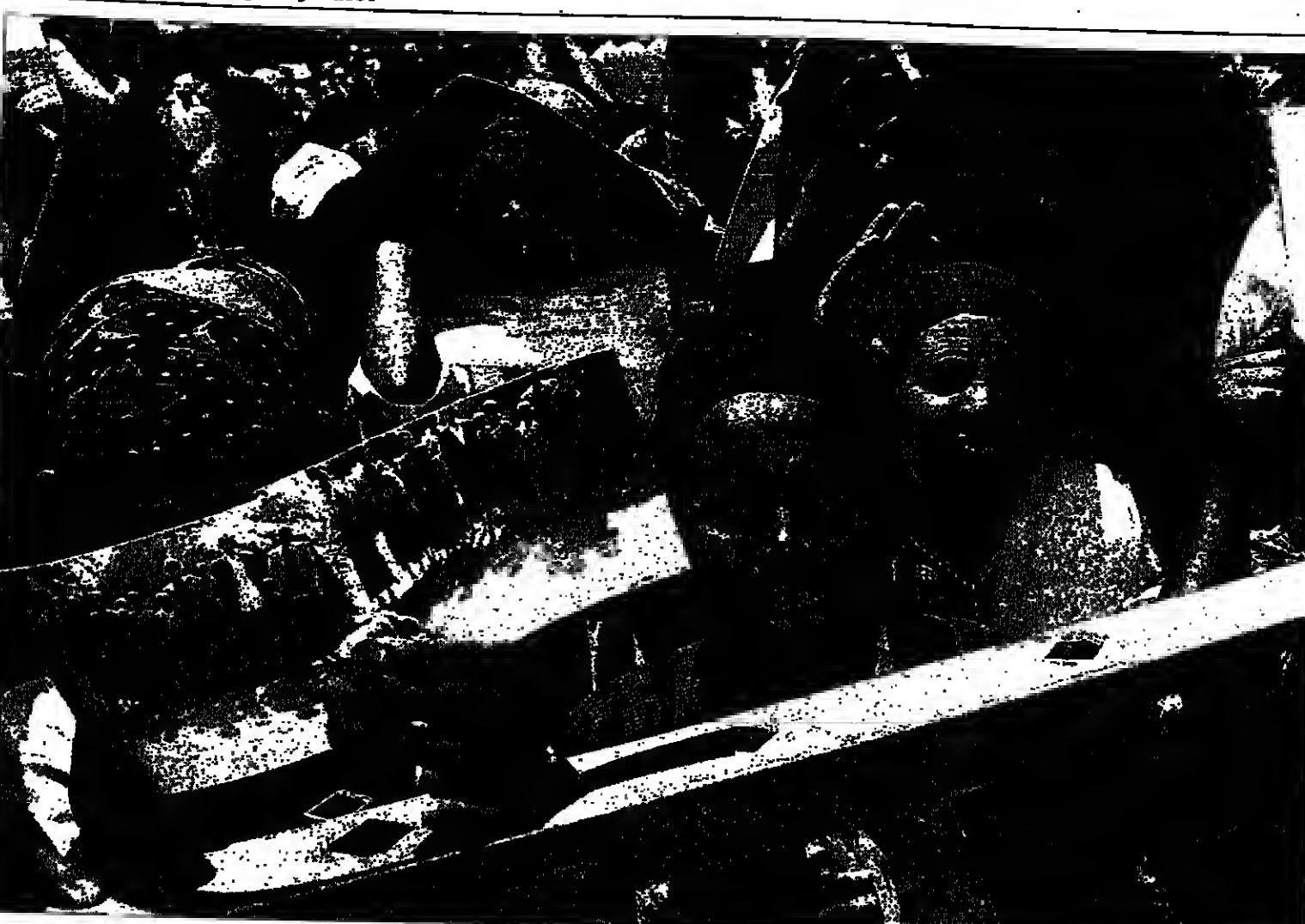
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Protesting immigrants outside the prime minister's office in Jerusalem yesterday hold photographs of relatives in Ethiopia. PHOTOGRAPH BY BRIAN MURPHY

Clans given limited rights by court but face land curb

# Aboriginals win title to the sea

Christopher Zinn in Sydney

**A**USTRALIAN Aboriginals were granted native title rights yesterday to the sea surrounding their traditional lands.

In a historic ruling, the federal court in Darwin found that five aboriginal clans had a communal claim to the waters and seabed around Croker Island, off the Arnhem Land coast in the Northern Territory.

The decision on one of the 140 claims affecting Australian waters came as the federal parliament in Canberra took steps to restrict aboriginal title to outback pastoral and mining leases.

Justice Howard O'Leary granted the clans limited right to the seas, meaning that they have no power to exclude others, such as anglers and commercial fishing and mining operations, from the area.

He said: "The native title rights and interests do not confer possession, occupation, use and enjoyment of the

sea and seabed within the claimed area to the exclusion of all others."

The clans hailed the decision as a historic victory, and said they would consider appealing to the high court for full and exclusive access to the area.

Mary Yarmirr, who brought the claim on behalf of the Mandilarri-Ildugil clan, said the case showed that the sea was as sacred to indigenous people as the land.

"We believe, and it is part of our law and culture, that the land and the sea are one. We have the same spiritual affiliation for the sea and the land."

The Croker Island case comes on top of the confusion caused by multiple and sometimes overlapping aboriginal bids for leasehold land in the Australian outback, which the prime minister, John Howard, is seeking to contain with his so-called Wik bill.

As the senate sat for an extra week to pass the measure, the government denied that yesterday's ruling would have any impact on the progress of its bill.

The Labour Party opposition described the senate's deliberations, covering 400 pages of amendments to Mr Howard's Native Title Act, as a day of national shame which appeared racist and racist.

Some 300 protesters gathered outside Parliament House and spilled out the word "shame" with a sea of hands.

Senator Nick Bolles said the legislation would be unworkable and would face endless legal challenges.

"The forces unleashed in our community, often given refuge and encouragement by a prime minister who panders to them, will not be defeated by today's taking away of the rights of indigenous Australians."

The chairman of the aboriginal body Atsiic, Gatji Djerrkura, said the passage of the bill, which has involved many political deals, was a significant loss for his people. "[It] will limit the future of aboriginal people to protect their property rights, which underpin their culture and social and economic well-being."

# Israel severs bloodline for Ethiopians

Julian Borger in Jerusalem on the families torn apart by the ending of mass airlifts

**T**HE crowd of Ethiopian immigrants jostling with police outside the Israeli prime minister's office yesterday were demanding new answers to some old questions. "Who is a Jew?" and "Are all Jews equal?", they wanted to know. Judging by the ugly mood, they were still waiting for the reply.

The sour taste of racial division has returned to Israeli domestic politics. After recent measures designed to close the door on immigration from Ethiopia, the government stands accused of abandoning tens of thousands of African Jews who trace their descent to the biblical King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba.

Anger has been growing since June 26, when formal ceremonies were held to mark what the government hailed as the "final plane-load" of Ethiopians, bringing to an end 12 years of dramatic airlifts that provided Israel with more than 80,000 new citizens.

At the same time, the government closed an aid camp in Addis Ababa for Ethiopians

who were therefore not eligible to immigrate under Israel's "law of return", which explicitly rules out converts to other religions.

However, because of the large numbers of Falashmura who gathered in Addis Ababa to claim their Jewish heritage after the two mass airlifts of Ethiopian Jews in 1986 and 1991, an exception was made on humanitarian grounds. Up to 10,000 Falashmura were granted Israeli citizenship. But the flow from the northern Ethiopian countryside kept coming.

"It showed that no good turn goes unpunished," said Ami Bergman, of the American Jewish joint distribution committee, which helped run the Addis Ababa camp.

"Thousands were coming and there was no real way of telling who was who. We decided it was better for them to stay in their villages rather than come to the camp, with all the dangers of life in the city, and become dependent on us."

In June last year the Israeli government declared it would empty the camp and thereafter strictly implement the law of return, which stipulates that a new immigrant to Israel must prove descent from at least one Jewish grandparent.

Abshalom Elitzur, a philosophy lecturer and human rights campaigner, claimed that Ethiopians were being subjected to far more rigorous tests than new Russian immigrants, up to 250,000 of whom are thought to be Christians.

"There are more Russian Christians in Israel than all the Ethiopian Jews. I'm afraid it boils down to one word: racism. For years we thought we were exempt from it. Now, we have to face it," Mr Elitzur said.

On a visit last month to the Gondar region in north-west Ethiopia, he said he had heard testimony of sectarian attacks by Christian neighbours against the Falashmura and a residual population of practising Jews.

"We recorded some cases of murder. In one case a four-year-old girl was burned to death in her hut, about three months ago in Gondar," he said. "This trend is increasing because there is growing poverty and general unrest, and rumours that Israel will get these people out means that their neighbours start eyeing their land property and pressuring them to go."

The Israeli government and the main aid agencies say they have heard no direct evidence of "pogroms" against Ethiopian Jews and deny the allegations of racism.

"There is only one standard applied to all, and that standard is the law of return," said Mike Rosenberg, an official at the Jewish Agency, responsible for encouraging the immigration of the diaspora.

The interior ministry is due to send a consular official to Gondar in search of practising Jews. Once their identity has been confirmed they will fly to Israel on the weekly scheduled El-Al flight.

There will be no more airlifts, the government says, and therefore no imminent respite for the grief-stricken protesters nursing their family portraits. And to the question scrawled on a placard yesterday: "Who is responsible for our family's blood?" — no clear answer.



ans claiming Jewish descent. The new immigration measures have cut families in two. Many of yesterday's 2,000 protesters had brought photographs of relatives whose lives they said were now in danger. A young recent immigrant, Aynew Tadesse, held aloft a faded snapshot of an old man with watery eyes and an expression of anxious dignity.

"My grandfather died in Addis last week because he was left without shelter or food," he said. He had written an open letter in Hebrew and English on behalf of cousins and uncles still in the Ethiopian capital.

"We are all of us Ethiopian Jews," the letter said. "We are without food or help. So please bring us out as soon as possible, we ask you. In a few days, we beg you in the name of God, the God of Israel."

A dozen other new immigrants pushed forward their own family pictures, as if the nearest contact with a foreigner might bring their missing relatives a tiny scrap of hope.

Most of the new immigrants are Falashmura — Christians whose forefathers converted from Judaism and

# HOW MANY OF YOUR STAFF WOULD RISK THEIR LIVES FOR YOU?

It would be nice to think the question will never arise, but you need only look at recent events to see how close we can be, at any time, to a national emergency when our armed forces, including the reservists who work for you, are deployed. Our forces may have reduced in size, but their commitments have not. That's why volunteers are increasingly important to us and why proper training is so crucial. In civilian life it makes them better employees; better motivated, more responsible and quicker to act on their own initiative. In an emergency this could make the difference between life and death. So, next time any of your volunteers need time off for military training, we hope you'll understand and support their commitment. After all, they are prepared to risk their lives for you and your country.



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# Comment

## Diary

Matthew Norman

THIS news of Dolly Drapes shocks me to the point of paralysis, and I take to my bed with a fit of the vapours. That Dolly, the high-minded ideologue known to Diary readers as "New Labour's very own Arthur Daley", has been flogging government secrets... that Dolly, the man of honour who once went to ground owing Faber & Faber £1,000 on a book deal, is unmasked as a mercenary who speaks of "stuffing my bank account at £250 an hour"... that Dolly, the reticent soul who once told veteran Glasgow MP Jimmy Wray: "I'm the man who makes the policy", would have bragged about his access to the levers of power... well, who could possibly have seen it coming? Now poor Dolly's been suspended by his lobbying firm, and sacked by Rizla Rosie's boycott from his Express column. Don't you worry, Dolly, there's always a berth for you here. Just give us the word, and a regular slot will be yours. The money's not great, but it's cash... and no need to part it through the till, my son, know what I mean?

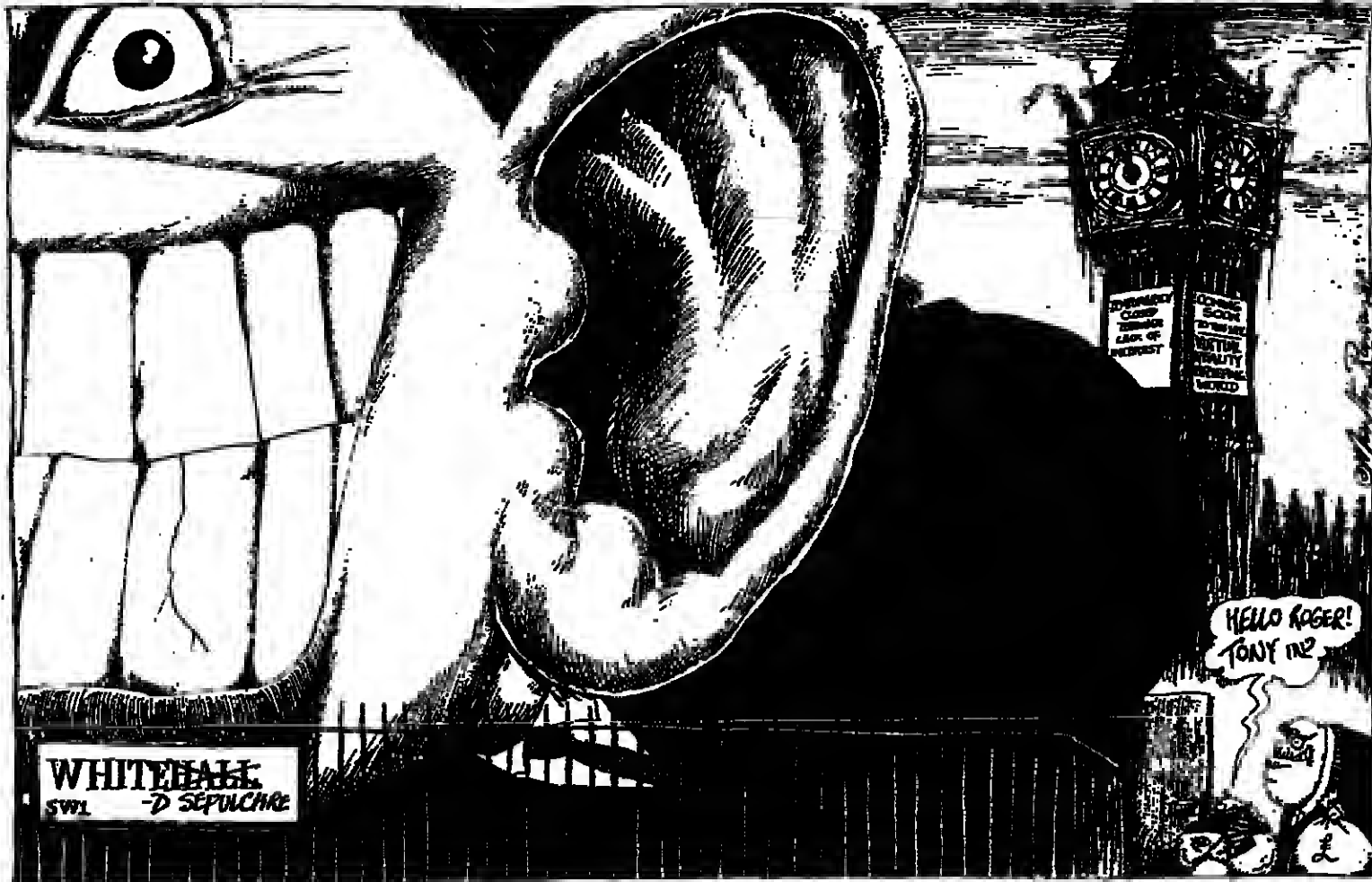
SPREADING of Rizla Rosie, in sacking Dolly she explained that a columnist must be "independent". How true this is, how very, very true, Rizla, a very independent editor herself, of course, and has been for weeks... ever since withdrawing Paul Routledge's job offer on instruction from New Labour High Command. For the third and final time, Rosie, to the name of fat that is good and wise, will you please, please, please, please take more tobacco with it?

FOR all the unintentional drool of her statement, Rosie may have a point. Stickless for the journalistic niceties (people like Professor Donald Treloar of Sheffield University) may mildly question Dolly's habit of submitting his copy to Mandy Mandelson for approval before sending it to the paper. Well, let's be honest, what they will. The Diary approves of this tactic, and recently attempted, you will recall, to have the column vetted each day by Downing Street in the hope of being steered on messages. Presumably because he was too busy reading so many other stories, Alastair Campbell could not find the time. But now that we know that Mandy has no objections in principle, we'll be faxing him each evening at the Cabinet Office for any emendations he might care to make.

MEANWHILE, rumours about Mr Mandelson's reward in the forthcoming reshuffle continue to circulate. Some believe that he will \*\*\*\*\* while others think it more likely that he will get \*\*\*\*\* minister. (Try not to be too something in her about Cook being fatally weakened, and the need for a Foreign Secretary more tuned in to the Prime Minister's thinking" - PMQ Watchers the future may bring, however, Mr Mandelson will be pleased to continue to serve his leader loyalty, and as best as his modest talents allow. (Try not to be too humbly, or they might read it as irony - PM).

CONGRATULATIONS to the Sun for getting the first interview with Anthea Turner since her romantic split from Grant Bovey, the video-maker. The paper labels its scoop with the word "World Exclusive", and rightly so. "You wouldn't believe what a job it was signing her up," says a source at the paper. "Every paper in the world was after her. We had to fight off bids from Mauritius, Iceland, Venezuela, the Cayman Islands and Papua New Guinea, and at the last minute we nearly got scooped by the biggest daily tabloid. It was murder."

WITH Argentina's elimination from the World Cup, the Diary wins its bet with Independent editor Simon Kneier. Although there appears to be one tiny point of dispute, we hope that Simon's debt can be discharged amicably, and without anybody accusing anybody else of being well out of order.



## New Labour has lived by the image. Now they could begin to die by it

Hugo Young



THE Blair Government created, as its distinctive political signature, the culture of perception. The way we thought Labour looked defined the way New Labour was and is. Now this culture, and the new political class that massaged it into existence, is in danger of devouring its creator. There hasn't been a more exquisite political irony in recent times. Living by the image, the party could begin to die by it as well, whether through the people's invention of bloody hostility between the Prime Minister and the Chancellor, or the casual improprieties around the Prime Minister's personal life. But Tony is an expert on what this auto-de-facto could yet do to the country.

The new political class, of advisers and consultants and bagmen with a line to New Labour's soul, are not what a political adviser used to be. Thirty years ago, when the species emerged into the holy enclave of government, the typical adviser was a professor who knew more about pensions or housing or education than the Civil Service. Such names as Balogh, Kaldor and Abel-Smith became a novel guarantee that the Wilson project, as it was not then known, would avoid being labelled the orthodox of Whitehall. Then Labour felt it needed experts in substance.

Today's political advisers are different. With some exceptions, they have little interest, and often no expertise, in policy. They're the minister's personal familiars, whose prime talent, if any, lies in explaining what the minister wants to get across: the guardians of access and the messengers of perception. Their role is no longer to defend the Civil Service but to see off other

ministers and their proxies, who belong, of course, to the same class as themselves. Their salary-bill is currently £3.6m, twice what the Major government spent on advisers in its last year. Every minister has to have one, sometimes two or three. As a class they've become a self-justifying, yet also mutually destructive, excoercent.

They personally the least acceptable part of what the Blair administration is about: its shallowness, its seduction by the wrong priorities, its fear-filled obsession with how the focus-groups see it. What they represent could charitably be dignified as the Government's interest in explanation and synthesis. More basically, this is a political class of new spinners, the instruments of the perception-culture Labour began inventing three years before it won the 1997 election. There are other striking features of the culture. First, although these people work in the Civil Service, they are not civil servants. They enjoy the access and intimacy, as well as the confidentiality, of public officials, as full players in the Governmental world. But they haven't been trained in the same rules. A raft of career information officers was displaced to make way for some of them. Many seem exempt from the strictures of the average civil servant. They can go to parties, trumpet their contacts, sell their ministers, conniving and plotting with an abandon no proper civil servant would contemplate. While best corrupt, the new political class hangs loose from codes and ethics, free-wheeling its way through the politico-business environment which is New Labour's proudest habitat.

Secondly, the absence of a policy dimension is more than a commentary on how times have changed. Most political advisers don't exist to push the ideological imperatives of their ministers, because these imperatives don't, for the most part, exist in rivalry to those of other factions in the Cabinet. Again there are exceptions. But the dominant culture has reduced systemic disagreement about policy to a minimum. The politics of New Labour is largely that of personality. Having neither policy input nor distinctive ideological commitment, the new class find their *raison d'être* in amplifying the politics of personality, on which subject they are ever more poisonous.

AT THE apex of their work is the common perception of relations between Tony Blair and Gordon Brown. This has become a masterpiece of misinformation, etched on the public mind as a self-fulfilling version of the truth. The two men are portrayed in a state of vicious, incorrigible disagreement, verging on mutual hatred fed by bitter personal rivalry, as a result of which the Cabinet stands in permanent danger of being destabilised from the top down. The image has been repeated often enough to become the paradigm of a great deal of political reporting. True or not, it has taken on a reality by which everything that happens has to be defined.

Yet it is, to an unusually spectacular degree, not true. Most of my professional life has been spent among the things, watching Chancellors in different degrees of difficulty with their leaders. Wilson related abrasively to Jim Callaghan and was plotted against by Roy Jenkins. Callaghan and Denis Healey were

yoked in miserable adversity. Mrs Thatcher's period was marked by deep policy rows with every Chancellor she had, and then John Major experienced different kinds of disillusion with both Norman Lamont and Kenneth Clarke. Mr Blair and Mr Brown, by contrast, live in a time of relative ease, and operate an economic policy which is directed towards a strategy they completely shared. They meet or talk almost every day, and do not have a significant disagreement about anything that matters, including Europe, the subject where the conspiracy theorists are most prone to claim a serious divide. While not immune from the customary rivalry of political titans, they're bound tight together. So why is the opposite impression so persistently conveyed? Partly because the principals don't do enough to rein their minions in. But essentially because the minions, beginning with Mr Brown's, decided that perception-management in their master's interest is the only task they exist to perform, and rudely against Blair's the way they can best perform it.

The culture out of which this stuff grows can do a lot of harm. The ethics are loose, and the politics are personal. The ascendancy of perception produces, at its zenith, a perception that is seriously mistaken. This is bad for Mr Blair, who puzzles how he can suppress what his own minions, as a counter to the Chancellor's, sometimes privately say to people like me. But it's a bad precedent for the country as well. After all, we've elected these people for a number of years, and need more than the politics of perception, especially when perception's most shining trophy is a lie.

The past approach of equal misery for everyone is cowardly and fails to reward success. If all we do is dole out the same share of the pot to the same institutions year after year (and it's close to that) we should be replaced by a computer at DCMs.

We have appointed a strong new team with a serious arts credibility and experience. We will have a creative dialogue with advisory groups and we will make informed and open decisions on what to support in a way that encourages success rather than penalising it.

Many commentators warn in doom-laden voices about the arm's-length principle which is about avoiding government intrusion. Neither I, nor the other members of the new council, took on this job to have the decisions made by someone else. I like and respect Chris Smith. While the flak has exploded around him he has been quietly and coura-

geously tackling some very difficult issues. He has not interfered and neither should he. It would be highly dangerous for politicians who are subject to swings in political and artistic opinion to try to determine the detail of arts funding. We now have good dialogue between DCMs and ourselves. That doesn't change the fact that we do need more money for the arts and, believe me, we will fight diligently for it. We will stand a better chance of success if we're seen to have put our house in order first.

Despite the fact that in 1997 a select committee called for delegation of funding to the regions, we have achieved almost nothing. Much debate has taken place but we've been impressively short on action. However, by the end of this year a very substantial proportion of funding will be handed over to the regions, where it properly belongs. Regional arts boards will make their own decisions within an

agreed broad plan and they too will be held to account for their achievements.

What is most impressive - often the case in these situations - is that many excellent and hard working officers and staff in the Arts Council have gone on against the odds to achieve a great deal in their own fields. They will be encouraged, I hope, by the opportunity presented by the changes to make their lives less complicated and their achievements more easily recognised.

Sir Richard Eyre's report on the Royal Opera House calls for "a new contract with the arts world, one that has obligations and responsibilities on both sides in which the wearying mutual animosity between artists and funders would become a healthy and benign dialogue". I don't know about Joan Bakewell, but I'm up for that.

Gerry Robinson is the new chairman of the Arts Council

## Stone age women

Ros Coward



LAST week Polly Toynbee dismissed Fay Weldon as an attention seeking "apostasy". The choice of words was revealing. Apostasy is the quitting of a religious order or the renunciation of religious vows without dispensation, and feminists usually fall over themselves to deny any central faith. But this outburst makes it clear that for one group at least - and a rather powerful group at that - feminist beliefs are written in stone.

Toynbee has been reading out a lot from her tablet recently. This has been prompted by the fact that Weldon's claims about men now suffering discrimination received so much more attention than the meeting of European women ministers. The media, she says, regards feminist struggles as boring because they are no longer about middle class career women: "the cause of women is now a class issue - and class politics are out of fashion". But feminists must continue to repeat their mantra: on average women still earn 20 per cent less than men, they still bear the main domestic responsibilities, and until they can be equal breadwinners, they will always be vulnerable.

I must then be part of the media conspiracy, for I, too, find this reiteration of feminist fundamentals boring. This is not because the subject of women's situation bores me. Far from it. It's more because the form and content of these views is so utterly unchanged from the seventies. When Toynbee says: "Corporate women in wigs, women in senior police uniforms, ministers, prime ministers, yes powerful women are everywhere you look but even in those airy heights the image lies", I hear the seventies complaint of tokenism. This is nonsense. The emergence of such powerful women can't be easily dismissed. They are a symptom of the profound changes which have affected society over the last 30 years, many of them in response to feminism.

THIS weekend a survey revealed that "women in Britain continue to earn more money than at any other time in our history", with 50 women earning more than £1 million. Four years ago there were only 14 in this category. Women's changed economic status is reflected all across society. The number of women earning more than their partners has trebled from 1 in 15 in the early eighties to 1 in 5 by the mid nineties. Among childless couples it is normal for women to contribute half the

income. In 1996 20 per cent of men have partners who are the main breadwinners, a figure that has tripled over the previous decade.

Of course, this does not mean women have full equality or that poorer women are not struggling. But it is a symptom of a radically changed picture. The old patriarchal equation meant that men's power in the home was reflected in their economic and social dominance outside. Women only ever had power by proxy through a powerful husband. When feminism burst on the scene in the late sixties and seventies, few could deny the injustices it described: the economic, legal and financial discrimination as well as oppression in the home. Feminism carried everything before it. But now the gender picture is more fractured and complex and a list of residual unfairnesses lacks compelling ethical urgency. Many women feel that what they are up against now is not yesterday's overt discrimination but more complex factors to do with how they chose to integrate work and family life.

Liam Hudson who delivered the Tanner Lectures at Yale University last year says that a preoccupation with this single question of fairness may be part of feminism's malady rather than its cure.

He says "Is it fair?" becomes maladaptive the moment it obscures its rivals: questions like "Is it true?" and "true to our experience?" and "Does it galvanise the imagination?" Feminism's old guard does the public and the media an injustice by claiming it is a lack of glamour which leads to boredom. There's nothing glamorous

The number of women earning more than their men has trebled

about Stephen Lawrence's story or for hunting, but people can feel passionately about situations when they transcend their ethical codes or resonate with their experiences. Regurgitated seventies feminism simply does not reach those parts.

Fay Weldon on the other hand occasionally does. In her wacky and inconsistent way she sometimes connects with what people are thinking. It's not that they believe rape doesn't matter or that powerful monstrous women are destroying men. It's just they recognise a more muddled situation where gender is not consistently making women victims or men villains.

After a week picking clean her bones, the verdict on Fay Weldon is that at any other time in our history, with 50 women earning more than £1 million. Four years ago there were only 14 in this category. Women's changed economic status is reflected all across society. The number of women earning more than their partners has trebled from 1 in 15 in the early eighties to 1 in 5 by the mid nineties. Among childless couples it is normal for women to contribute half the

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It was like the last days in the bunker - failure, cowardice and muddle are what I inherited at the Arts Council

## An idiot? We'll see

Gerry Robinson

MYBE you do have to be an idiot to take on the Arts Council at this time. Joan Bakewell didn't seem to want to "put her name forward" as she put it recently in the Guardian. Sensible woman. I look forward to when the council really starts to work for the arts in England (a novel idea) and everyone remembers just how much they agreed with the changes they're now protesting about.

Inevitably those who've lost their influence find euphemistic ways of explaining (very publicly of course) that it's not a personal thing at all (dear) but entirely for the sake of art.

The Arts Council has failed the arts in England for some considerable time and the fascinating thing is that with the exception of a few of the "departed", everyone seems to

agree on that. Muddle has been the order of the day. Muddle between policy and practice, between decision taking and advice, between policy and grant-in-aid, between the Arts Council and the regions, between the Arts Council and government, between the Arts Council and the arts world and even between the Arts Council and the Arts Council.

On lottery funding, despite constant calls from an excellent but deeply frustrated lottery panel, a number of council members continued to argue for projects that could simply never be afforded. It was reminiscent of the last days in the bunker with people moving non-existent divisions about the map and arguing body over every move.

The result is that we inherit over £2.5 billion worth of projects chasing the £650 million available to us up to 2006. That will disappoint a lot of people who have put their hearts and

souls into developing projects, often with the help of Arts Council money.

The new council will shortly agree a new framework for capital projects. Such projects need to be managed with the same long term perspective that exists for schools, hospitals or roads. We will draw up

They were moving non-existent divisions about the map, arguing hotly

a list that shows which projects are on an "amber light" for funding during the next seven years. No doubt the list will be greeted with cheers in some places and with dismay in others, but people will know where they stand. We will also tackle grant-in-aid with vigour and with a sense of pur-

pose. The past approach of equal misery for everyone is cowardly and fails to reward success. If all we do is dole out the same share of the pot to the same institutions year after year (and it's close to that) we should be replaced by a computer at DCMs.

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**The Guardian**  
Tuesday July 7 1998  
Edition Number 47222  
119 Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3ER  
Tel No: 0171-278 2332  
Fax No: 0171-837 4530  
E-mail: letters@guardian.co.uk  
Website: http://www.guardian.co.uk

## Clean up the lobby

Labour looks grubby

IT is, as the American humourist Yogi Berra used to say,  *déjà vu*  all over again. The burgeoning row over New Labour and its friends in the lobbying industry has been a trip down one of British politics' darker memory lanes. There are echoes of the immediate past and the Formula One affair, in which Labour stood accused of selling access, and even policy decisions, for cash: a £1 million donation in return for a U-turn on tobacco sponsorship. But the more troubling parallel for the Government is with the sleaze that mired the Major administration in its final years. Then as now, lobbyists were revealed to be swarming around London, bragging of their ability to open the doors of power to those willing to pay. For a Government elected on a wave of disgust at Tory sleaze, the parallel is uncomfortable. For the weekend revelations in the Observer raise a question first posed by Martin Bell, conqueror of the sleaze-magazine *Inside*: Neil Hamilton, in the Commons during the Ecclestone furore, have we slayed the dragon of sleaze to replace it with one clasping a red rose between its teeth?

Certainly the whole business reeks. Few Britons who believed May 1, 1997, signalled the start of a new era can be anything but appalled to read comments like those attributed to Derek Draper, the former aide to Peter Mandelson and professional bigmouth. "I just want to stuff my bank account at £250 an hour," he said — as if to confirm that today's Labour Party has be-

come home to a special breed of Thatcher's children: young, thrusting men with few principles beyond a 1980s-style lust for cash and fast-living. The notion that such profiteering followed an election victory fuelled by a public hunger for clean politics makes it all the harder to stomach. Yesterday's sacking and suspension of Mr Draper from two of his nice little earners offers some consolation — but not much.

Still, there are some important distinctions to be made. The truly pernicious element in Tory sleaze was not that the lobbyist Ian Greer traded on his contacts with ministers and MPs, but that the politicians themselves were on the take. There is no suggestion of that here. Indeed, so far Labour's scandal reads like Ian Greer without Neil Hamilton: we have the lobbyists selling access, but no ministers profiting from it themselves. That's why the role of Roger Liddle has attracted such attention. As a special adviser at Number 10, he is the only person *inside* government to be linked to the alleged trade in cash-for-access. Mr Liddle has to counter the Observer's claim that he offered to open key Whitehall doors to a man he took for a US businessman for his own position to be tenable.

A second distinction centres on lobbying itself. One of the companies named by the Observer, LLM, insists it offers only advice and analysis, not access: they guide clients through the political maze the way lawyers guide clients through the law. But, to follow their own analogy, they have to prove that what they were selling was their knowledge of the law — not the fact that they knew the judge. The Observer quoted one LLM executive bragging about his ability to get through to Gordon Brown: that suggests LLM were edging across the line they themselves describe. They need to establish they were, as they insist, selling expertise,

not insider access. Plenty of people would doubtless wish the lobbying industry did not exist, that big businesses wrote to their MPs like the rest of us. That's probably unrealistic, but there does need to be some hard thinking — perhaps by the Neill committee, and certainly by the rest of us — on how the industry might be supervised. It might take a statutory code. Either way, Labour was elected to clean up government: it should shed these hangers-on right away.

## CSA made simple

But will the poorest miss out?

PARLIAMENT was almost unrecognisable yesterday. There was no blatant point-scoring from either government or opposition benches. There was a sense of shared responsibility even humility — for the fiasco that the child support agency has become. And there was an open search for a new consensus on a fair system of child maintenance from separated parents. Social Security Secretary Harriet Harman helped set the tone with a non-triumphalist opening speech. She is right to reduce the complexity of the present scheme; right not to return maintenance to lawyers and courts; and right to search for a consensus. But one question remained unanswered: are we in danger of moving from an over-complex system to a too simplistic alternative?

Complexity was introduced with the best of motives — making the system sensitive to the many different circumstances separated families face — but the worst result: an over-bureaucratic scheme bogged down by delays, backlogs, and assessments. Over 90 per cent of staff time is spent calculating payments leaving only 10 per cent to ensuring assessments are collected. Almost two

million children of separated parents still receive no contribution from absent parents. One third of all cases take more than six months to process producing a backlog of 400,000 cases with up to £1 billion owed in back-payments.

The new simple formula will cut through this miasmic mess. Instead of 100 different factors to be fed into the agency's computer, the new assessment will be based on net income (after tax and national insurance) of the separated parent and the number of children in the first (and second) family. The average separated father will be able to work it out without a computer. Moreover, a new incentive has been introduced for separated mothers on income support: they can keep the first £10 before having their benefits reduced. The sum may be small but an important principle has been established: the Treasury does not absorb all maintenance paid to people on welfare.

Inevitably, simpler systems are cruder. Less predictably, the new one looks more regressive: of the 30 per cent due to pay more, a disproportionate number are low paid and in the 70 per cent paying less, a disproportionate number better-off. One out of four mothers will receive less. The new tribunal could introduce lawyers — and complexity — through the backdoor. But Parliament has learned its lesson: the detail needs detailed scrutiny. Sensibly, ministers conceded pre-legislative hearings.

## Sun spots

Nine things you didn't know...

UNDER its new editor, David Yelland, the Sun newspaper has lost none of the searing invective that has made it such a national institution. Yesterday it castigated the BBC once again not so much for what it does but

for existing at all. In an age when hundreds of channels are available why — it asked — should 97 per cent of the population pay a compulsory tax just to watch two? The BBC stands accused of spending YOUR money to lure stars from ITV to jack up its ratings to justify your £91.50p licence fee. Worse, the Beeb has for years presumed it produces the best TV in the world yet a host of current hits like *Friends*, *The Simpsons* and *ER* are made in America. And how would "egomaniacs" like Jeremy Paxman and David Dimbleby fare in free-market American TV? Why they would be lucky to get a job sweeping the studio floors. But at least — it adds — that would be a better use of their talents. All good knockabout stuff.

Sadly, pressure of space forced the Sun to drop an accompanying article "Nine things you didn't know about today's Sun editorial". This might have included: 1) The BBC's licence fee is actually £97.50 not £91.50. 2) But this fades into insignificance when comparing value-for-money: beside Sky — lowest price, £179.88 a year, or up to £350 a year or more when you add the various premium sport and movie channels. 3) *Simpsons*, *ER* and *Friends* all appear on Sky first. 4) The BBC's home-generated production (excluding sport and news) is 70 per cent. 5) Sky's home output is less than 10 per cent. 6) Sky has just happily signed the dreaded BBC up for two of its own digital channels. 7) Rupert Murdoch is an American citizen. 8) Yesterday's second editorial eulogising the genius of Johnny Speight in creating "one of the most enduring TV characters of all time" forgot to mention that *Till Death Do Us Part* was on the BBC. 9) ... oh and Rupert Murdoch's empire, which owns the Sun, also owns 40 per cent of BSkyB.

Whatever happened to the noble tradition of declaring conflicts of interest?

## Letters to the Editor

### Sporting exchanges

TWO clues for Leo Baxendale (Letters, July 6). Wasn't the Barmy Army a group of Sweeney Bards? The Barmy Army was also the name of an '80s pop group which mixed dub music with samples of football chants. Their "Glory Glory — Sharp as a Needle" was a tribute to Kenny Dalglish. D Cameron, Liverpool.

I ENDORSE the suggestion that, in the event of a tied game, play continues until the scoring of a golden goal, with each side withdrawing a player every 10 minutes (Letters, July 4). I look forward to the state of play after 110 minutes without a further goal and with no players left on the field. Football would then become the ultimate minimalist sport. Steve Cohen, Manchester.

ENGLAND loses a football match. Quick, change the rules. Jim Patterson, London.

THANK the Lord for St Dennis Bergkamp's "goal of the tournament" which has rightly upstaged the goal-bound sprint of that spotty little diver Michael Owen. The genius Dutchman's right instep has emphatically perished the thought that a player sporting three lions on his over-size shirt would end up scoring the finest goal of France 98. Richard Williams and Jeremy Hardy will now, I am sure, sleep easier in their beds. Andrew Bell, Morden, Surrey.

BBC TV's obsession with cricket is verging on the irrational and now averages more than 20 hours a week. On Sunday, only a few hundred people turned up to watch England and South Africa. The BBC set aside *Five hours* of viewing time. For that, my 85-year-old mother had to pay her £97.50 licence fee. John Alley, Comberton, Cambridgeshire.

DON'T we have to suffer enough watching South Africa outplay a pathetic England team without the BBC inflicting Boycott on us again? Brian Kirby, Newquay, Cornwall.

## More yellow than Orange

THE right to freedom of assembly is indeed fundamental (Letters, July 6), but there is a limit to what constitutes an assembly and what is an action likely to cause a breach of the peace. What would be the position of your paper with regard to, say, a National Front march in Nottingham, Tooting or Bradford?

The only way to get a march down the Garvaghy Road is to imprison the innocent, law-abiding, Catholic population of that road in their own homes. What then of these people's right of assembly, or their right to live without fear and intimidation? The Parades Commission has not said the Orange Order cannot march, simply that they cannot march down one particular road where that march will cause pain, fear and offence. Andrew Harrison, Dublin.

THE feelings of Garvaghy Road residents are analogous to the feelings of East London Jews awaiting a march by Mosley supporters in the 1930s (Roadblock to peace, July 6). The right to assemble in circumstances where the safety of minority groupings is threatened should not be guaranteed under a democracy.

The Orange Order needs to tread gently. In the recent election, a slim majority of people in Northern Ireland voted for unionist candidates, and half of those voters supported pro-assembly candidates. Would

the Orange Order support the democratic wishes of the majority of the people of Northern Ireland to leave the UK? When the answer to that question is Yes, the Garvaghy Road residents should withdraw their objections to the march. Tom White, Birmingham.

NO ONE is denying the Orange Order the right of peaceful assembly. The right of assembly is subject everywhere else to public order restrictions of time, route and place. Tim Keister, University of Southampton.

IT is too simple to suggest that the parade goes down the Garvaghy Road on alternate years! Barry Walton, Altrincham, Cheshire.

NORMALLY, when a group of people want to show pride in their culture and traditions, they make such events as inclusive as possible. Saturday's Gay Pride March or the Notting Hill Carnival are celebrations of diversity which do not exclude Londoners who are neither gay nor Afro-Caribbean.

It would be easier to take seriously the Orange Order's claims to be celebrating civil and religious liberty if it did not, as a first principle, stop anyone who happens to be Catholic going to the party. A dog urinating against a tree to mark its territory probably

has a better idea of freedom than the Orangemen who want to parade through the streets of people who don't want them there. Liam MacUaid, London.

FROM time to time the Orange Order passes through our village. However, they march through deserted streets and are totally ignored by the villagers. It seems a better way to preserve the peace than the huffing and puffing constitutional attitude presently employed by both sides. Jon Meyer, Loanhead, Midlothian.

GIVE peace a chance. Let all the residents of Drumree back down. Let the police and the army take down the barricades and erect barriers in the disputed area. Let the rationalist residents don orange clothing, and provide a tea party for the Orange Order. Let the Orange Order accept that peace is more important than any banner waving march. Talk to one another. Make the Drumree march a symbol of peace and reconciliation. Geoff Freeman, Bracknell, Berkshire.

WITH its doctrine of forgiveness, love and humility, has anybody thought about introducing Christianity to the two sides at Drumree? Simon Vogel, Harlow, Essex.



## Why Eurofighter will take off

YOU state "The Eurofighter might not be able to land on the new carriers" (Labour's 1998 for new ships, July 4). The Eurofighter is not designed to and this is the reason why it's both cheaper and more capable than the Dassault Rafale, which doesn't "land" on carriers either. Rafale is designed to crash into a cat's cradle of wires and then be blasted off the deck by a steam catapult.

The crashing into wires bit means that even the land-based version of the Rafale carries a structural penalty — which makes it expensive. But it's the Rafale's bit which makes it so much less capable: coping with clouds of steam means an air intake that makes it slower than the Eurofighter. The Eurofighter is needed. The RAF has to protect one of the largest air-deck assets in Nato and the Treasury wants to sell as many airfields as it can. The RAF now requires supercruise fighters to reach all corners of the UK. The new carriers will be equipped with Sea Harriers in the first instance and the ASTOVL version of the Joint Strike Fighter in the second. Neither steam nor cat's cradles are required.

The new carrier has to carry fighters, attack helicopters and anti-submarine helicopters. This isn't feasible with even a 40,000-ton carrier using the Dassault Rafale or F18. It's only the tiny landing habits of the Harrier and JSF which make it possible. Matthew Spencer, Bedfordshire.

## Red watch

THERE is nothing sinister about John Macmurray's name appearing on George Orwell's list of Soviet fellow-travellers (Blair outstrips his guru, July 1). It is merely one example of the Establishment looking for reds under every bed except the right one. The BBC's head of security, Sir Oswald Dwyer, was convinced that Macmurray had infected the whole of the BBC religious affairs department with subversive ideas. So he appointed one of his "trustees" from his security force to keep them under watch. And whom did he appoint? Nona other than Guy Burgess. Philip Hunt, Chairman, John Macmurray Fellowship, Bath.

## Paying for sex

KATHARINE Viner (Women and children last, July 6) rightly condemns the injustice and inequality whereby women aged over 36 working in newspapers earn £5,000 per annum less than men of the same age. Yet she describes the situation where men under 36 earn £7,000 less than women of the same age as... the good news for women.

Surely there should be no differences based on sex, and there should be campaigns to end any sex-related inequalities wherever they occur — not just when the sufferer is female! And certainly in justice should not be praised as being good — as would be obvious if the rest of the article was presented as the good news for men. It may appear to be redressing an historical imbalance, but I want my daughter and son to have an equal chance in life, rather than be given advantage over the other on the basis of their sex or society's past wrongs in which they have played no part. Tony Morbin, London.

## Tom apart

IDISAGREE with Susie Orbach (Hearts and minds, July 1) about the good things that come from divorce. I've moved from our large family home, among friends and support, to a scruffy terraced house in a new area. Yes, my son has extra quality time with his father to build a new and closer relationship. The trouble is that my ex-partner is using all his charm and energies to woo his new wife. Our son says he feels left out, that his dad loves his new wife more than him and that he has a new family now. Lately he's been worried that I might be enjoying my weekends without him more than my time with him. Yes, there is no more conflict between his parents, but the only message my son is receiving is that when the going gets tough, get out and start again. Unless there's physical abuse, there's nothing worse than tearing a small child in half and expecting him to relish the unfolding complications of his little life. Children like a family like the one in the picture books, I'm afraid. Name and address supplied.

## Lessons to be learnt from the murderous deputy head

AS A parent of children attending East Sussex County Council schools, I was alarmed to discover that Sion Jenkins, convicted murderer of his foster daughter Billie-Jo, fabricated entirely his academic background when applying for teaching posts (The luckless child murdered by a control freak, July 3). These inventions were apparently never uncovered, even when he applied for the deputy headship, and then headship, of a large boys' comprehensive school in Hastings. Both these applications were successful.

It seems to me a matter of grave public concern that teachers in state schools can be employed without the slightest check being made on their claimed academic history. I am writing to the director of education for East Sussex asking for an assurance that he will institute immediately a thorough examination of the academic and career backgrounds of all heads and

deputy heads of schools for which he is responsible. Name and address supplied.

FOR some years the public has been urged to foster "older children" — from four to 14 years old. Often these children have already experienced several family placements, but time and time again they have "broken down", leaving a trail of wrecked families. Many such children are extremely disturbed, difficult to handle and manipulative. Yet very little expertise is available in terms of advice for the foster parents or treatment for the children, and usually no help at all is available once the child has been adopted. Before something even worse happens, may we have a searching inquiry into the state of children cared for by local authorities. Ken Redgrave, (Consultant in child care), Northwich, Cheshire.

## Health service faces charges of inequality

THE chief executive of the NHS, Sir Alan Langlands, says he will resign rather than countenance any extension of charging for health care (Chief to quit NHS if fees imposed, July 4). He explained this by saying charges would "challenge the ambition of equal access to health care", eroding the NHS's role in reducing inequalities in health. If charges contribute to health inequality, how come inequalities are so great in the UK where health care is free? There is less health inequality in countries such as Sweden where patients have always paid modest but significant

sums to see a doctor. The truth is that having a free health service does not encourage access — particularly when the consequence is a shortage of resources and acute rationing. People over 60, for example, are less likely to get kidney dialysis in the UK than in most of the rest of Europe (or the US for that matter). British patients are denied life-saving and life-enhancing drugs on the specious grounds that they are too new for general release. Of course if they are rich enough to afford private treatment, they will get these things — but that is hardly equality of access. Charging at reasonable

levels is affordable, would raise £50m a year extra and provide funds to tackle health inequality seriously. The future of the NHS is bleak if it cannot improve the standard of health care most people in Britain deserve and expect. John Williams, London.

THE Prime Minister is absolutely right that the NHS needs re-organising round modern technology and especially telemedicine. May I remind you of the case so well argued in your own columns for this to include a properly planned broadband communications infrastructure using

fibre optics right out to GP's surgeries? Two years' detailed study by our telecoms industry team has shown that this, coupled with modern medical physical advances like 3D ultra-sound, could help to save the service £300m a year, cut waiting lists by up to 30 per cent and provide key help to GPs in their crucial front-line role. JM Harper, East Sussex.

We do not publish letters where only an e-mail address is supplied; please include a full postal address. We may edit letters: shorter ones are more likely to appear. We regret we cannot acknowledge those not used. The Country Diary is on Page 12.

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# Postcards from the edge

A high-contrast, black and white photograph of a woman riding a mechanical bull. The woman is wearing a light-colored shirt and dark pants, and is holding a hat. The bull is mounted on a wooden structure with a sign that reads "2". The image is grainy and has a high-contrast, almost posterized appearance.

**Roy the rider . . . 'Don't you like girls?' Bob Hope asked in Son of Paleface. 'I'll stick to horses, mister' Rogers replied**

## Roy Rogers

# Western frontman

**Roy the singer  
... 'I don't call  
myself an  
actor. I'm just  
a simple,  
country-  
talkin' guy.  
Must be God  
is on my side.  
I'm a Christian  
cowboy. I  
found the Lord  
five years ago'**

# New light on the Reich

As his health, and that of his wife, made it more diffi-



## Carsten... quiet influence

In 1954 he published his first book, *The Origins of Prussia*, a much-expanded version of his thesis, followed in 1959 by *Princes and Parliaments in Germany*. These major studies of Junker domination, and parliamentary alternatives to it in early modern Germany, were followed in 1966 by perhaps the most important of his books, *The Reichswehr and Politics 1918-1933*. This laid bare for the first time the extent of the German army's hostility to the Weimar republic.

He remained active well into his eighties, reporting proudly that he still mowed the lawn and tended the garden of his large house in Hampstead while most of his much younger neighbours employed gardeners to do the work for them. His wife Ruth died in 1994. He is survived by two sons and a daughter.

**Richard J Evans**  
Francis Ludwig Carsten, historian, born June 25, 1911; died June 23, 1998

## Death Notices

**BLACKWELL** Muriel, suddenly on 24th June. Former music adviser, Hastings, Ban. Friends welcome at Golden Cross Crematorium, HW11 at 2pm Friday, 10th July

**CORNELL** The funeral for Doctor Ian Cornell, who died on 19th June, aged 49, will take place at 1pm, Friday 10th July, at the Robin Hood Crematorium, Birmingham

**FOOTENBOROUGH, F.R.E.** Sir John Haddley, died peacefully in his sleep at his home on 3rd July 1988. Beloved husband of Mrs. Haddley and son of Mr. & Mrs. Haddley. A private family funeral. A memorial service is being planned, to be held in early September. Mrs. Haddley is a member of Methodist, Gregynog Society, St Christopher's Hospice, Tebbi Grove, Wimbeldon SW18 4EX

**KEEGAN**, Catherine née Ollmar, Architect, after a short illness, on Tuesday 30th March, 1998, at 52, White Park, north of Norwich. Funeral at Wyjo, Quaker Chapel on Friday 10th July at 11.30am. Family flowers and donations to Wy. Millennium Project. Details from W. Garstin & Son, Funeral Directors, 12 Chiltern Street, London W1P 1PP.

**PORTER**, Kenneth, on 2nd July, 1998, peacefully in hospital in Stockport, and aged 82 years. He was a justly beloved husband of the late Winifred, and a much loved father by all his family. Funeral arrangements to George Bell and Son, Tel 0161 432 2131.

## In Memoriam

HEATHER-HAYES, Jim, died tragically.  
aged 18 years 7 7/8" Ebuon an Jimi

## Births

**LEVENSON, Kitty**, born July 4th 1936, to  
mrs. John Corbett and Daniel, bring-  
ing joy and delight to Stan, Dr. Martin and  
both nursing.

## Birthdays

**BEAUMONT, Susan M - 7-7-1948** Happy birthday, to the most honest, friend and caring person I could ever hope to meet.

1992

**Anniversaries**

**CAPLIN, Scott.** Happy first anniversary  
hunts for a great year, with all my love,  
Tracy

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## Letters

*Win Hopper writes:* I think I must have owned one of the Durham quilts of Amy Emms (Obituary, June 27) — a wonderful and much-loved cover which lasted for many, many years. We Hopper girls from a Dunstan, Newcastle, family were given them as wedding presents in the 1920s.

## A Country Diary

After several days spent searching for a typical June show of summer flowers, I was finally rewarded at the end of last week with the discovery of a small marl pit that was ablaze with colour and full of those plants which are at home in or near water. I had wandered well away from the village and at one point clambered over a newly-erected stile into a field almost waist high with grasses. The only indication of a such

## Birthdays

Shamir Ahmed, jeans manufacturer, 36; Michael Antram, Conservative MP, 53; Pierre Cardin, fashion designer, 76; David Cope, environmentalist, 52; Jaremy Guscott, rugby player, 33; Michael Howard, MP, former Conservative minister, 57; Prof Tom Husband, mechanical engineer, 62; Tony

## CORRECTIONS AND CLARIFICATIONS

IN A DIARY on page 5, G2, July 1, we said the books of John Macmurray, the former professor of moral philosophy at Edinburgh University, were out of print. At least six of them are not. His name is spelt as it appears here, not with an internal capital M.

IN THE homes & gardens section, page 57, the Guardian Weekend magazine, July 4, we published details of the BayGen Power wind-up, solar-powered radio. Unfortunately, the accompanying photo

phone number, was incomplete. The correct number is: 800 731 3052.

It is the policy of the Guardian to correct errors as soon as possible. Please quote date and page number. Readers may contact the office of the Readers' Editor by telephoning 0171 339 9589 between 11am and 5pm, Monday to Friday. Surface mail to Readers' Editor, The Guardian, 119, Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3ER. Fax: 0171 339 9697. E-mail:



# Analysis Select committees

Gerry Robinson  
in the arts  
bunker  
10

## Time for a good whipping?

Donald Anderson (right) is doing his best to make life miserable for Robin Cook. That's what select committees like his were designed for. But **Anne Perkins** and **David Walker** ask if patronage will buy them off

**T**ODAY MPs will be asked to back the Foreign Affairs Committee's campaign to wrest further details of the Sierra Leone arms affair from the Government. Yesterday the alleged leaking of a Trade and Industry report was a primary charge against New Labour's lobbying network. No wonder dozens have been queuing to get into hearings. Commons committees are hot news.

The British system prides itself on automatic checks and balances preventing abuses of power, might the rise of the select committee be a response to Tony Blair's overweening majority in the Commons? Behind the question of who sees which FO telegrams lies party advantage. The Tories want ministerial scalp and are prepared to talk constitutional outrage to get them. But, posturing aside, minds are being concentrated on a key question: what are Members of Parliament for? Are select committees a way of defining their role as monitors of executive action?

It's an old constitutional mystery. Once it was Pym against Charles I, later Fox against George III. How can the same chamber contain both executive power, wielded by ministers, and legislators without whose votes they get no money to spend. Backbenchers make ministerial government legitimate yet themselves are powerless. In our late 20th-century democracy, where political party affiliation is so strong, do MPs elected on a ticket have any real sway over the Government they promised voters to support? Can MPs be both lobby fodder and fearless custodians of ministerial accountability?

The answer depends on how far Tony Blair's vision for Britain entails eventually weakening the hold of parties on politics. He has talked reform. He charged Ann Taylor, Leader of the House, with modernising the Commons.

"Making MPs more effective in holding the executive to account will be Labour's true project for parliament," she promised — and by implication that means cutting the power of party whips. A year on, says one senior Labour committee chairman, "this is the moment when we discover how far New Labour is committed to accountability."

A mutinous spirit stalks the Commons' committee corridor and the feisty mood spreads beyond foreign affairs. Both the Health Committee and the Committee on European Legislation have attacked the Government's handling of the Formula One tobacco sponsorship affair. The Treasury Committee instigated American-style "confirmatory hearings" for members of the Bank of England monetary policy committee.

Now the education committee is to do the same, starting with appointments to the Office for Standards in Education. All these committees have Labour chairs.

There's the rub. The governing party has to empower party backbenchers to give ministers a hard time. Giles Radice of the Treasury Committee (under the Tories his sub-committee on the civil service produced ground-breaking new rules for how ministers should behave) is anxious. "There is a danger of pushing for something you might not get. It could just expose your weakness." Donald Anderson, for the Foreign Affairs committee believes that the Foreign Secretary's refusal to provide papers is a matter of principle, too grave to let slip.

Peter Hennessy called the departmental select committees the single most important clawback in terms of the relative influence of the legislature and executive since the turn of the century. In theory, Committee powers are only actionable if other MPs back them up and that depends on the whips. What is at stake, after a year of New Labour rule is whether these committees are going to be tolerated by the executive if, like Foreign Affairs, they get stroppy. Norman St John Stevens, getting in quickly before Margaret Thatcher realised what was afoot, set up the committee system in 1979. He aspired to nothing less than "redressing the balance of power" within the Commons. Some successes: An inquiry by the Defence Committee into the Westland helicopter affair. But when the Health Committee chaired by Nicholas Winterton, a Tory MP, attacked the internal market within the NHS, whips decided they had had enough internal opposition. They invented the "Winterton rule", preventing a committee chairman serving more than two parliaments.

**W**HIPS have at their disposal a splendid armoury of patronage, bribes and threats. From it, under John Major, they pulled baubles which had the effect of neutralising an inquiry by the Trade and Industry Committee into the Supergun affair. (The same inquiry showed how weak Commons committees are: Alan Clark, a key actor, simply refused to answer the committee's questions.) The system was so flawed that Jerry Hayes, a health committee member, even leaked a critical report to Virginia Bottomley, the Health Secretary, so that she could knock it down before publication. The Commons Privileges Committee inquired, confirmed the leak — and took no action.



"Parliament had its destiny in its own hands and it threw it away," Winterton now says.

To subvert "independent" committees, the Tories showed, you turn chairs into ministers, or even whips. The danger now, as the committees start to stretch their wings, is that the flagellants will have their way again.

Yet one committee they cannot muzzle: if MPs or the public want a template for effective monitoring of the executive by the House of Commons, it is surely the Public Accounts Committee, created in the 19th century. Both ministers and their top officials still

fear having to appear before it. In each Whitehall department a civil servant, usually the permanent secretary, serves as accounting officer with an obligation to blow the whistle in the PAC's direction on unauthorised spending. Chaired by convention by an Opposition MP the PAC commands the 900-strong National Audit Office, which examines accounts and asks about value for money. Through the PAC, MPs are, like members of the United States Congress, able to conduct regular, professional and thorough investigations on the public's behalf.

The model has not been lost

on some Labour committee chairs, especially the "old and bold" who, resigned to having missed the boat of political preferment during Labour's wilderness years, are set to make a name for themselves as backbenchers. Bruce George, long-time Walsall MP, chairman of the Defence Committee, has drawn up a rejuvenation plan for bigger budgets, stronger powers, the capacity to conduct research, initiate debate and interrogate ministers and their officials more rigorously. It's not, he says, a bid for power but a demand for respect. Committees should not have power

says Peter Hennessy but influence. "Government's government," Parliament does not, even though without the consent of Parliament no government can exercise power for long. Reports, even from the quieter committees, such as science and technology can serve to marshal evidence and influence opinion.

Some chairs want higher pay to reflect the responsibility of running a committee, which can take three days a week. It is as tough, according to the Tory chairman of the Agriculture Committee, Peter Luff, as being a junior minister. Giles Radice wonders whether making some

Privy Counsellors might reinforce their independence.

The public standing of the committees was badly damaged under the Tories and they need to raise their game before requests for extra cash look plausible. They are wildly varied in the quality of their members and output. Gerald Kaufman has been allowed to turn the Culture Committee into a personal fiefdom, a rubber stamp for his acidic hyperbole. Too many inquiries verge on the farcical. Questions get put which are merely a statement of prejudice. MPs don't follow up answers, let alone sustain a line of questioning.

One member of the Culture committee once asked a question which went on for seven minutes. Civil servants and ministers spend hours preparing. Gordon Brown is so anxious when he appears before the Treasury Committee, he shakes. MPs however often don't bother to prepare at all.

Complaisant members make easy meat for the whips: a word in a chairman's ear about the dangers of pursuing a particular inquiry, a hint that it would be a good idea to delay publication until after the party conference. Above all the whips control committee membership, seeking to ensure there is never a majority to be difficult, as there so famously is on the Foreign Affairs Committee.

Labour chairmen admit that even though they want to see committees develop as a respected alternative to government office there are some jobs they wouldn't be able to refuse. "Not many," says Giles Radice. "I have more influence as chairman of the Treasury committee than I would in most ministerial jobs."

Hard and fast evidence of committee influence on government policy is hard to find. Perhaps the Downing Street summit with the highbrow end of the Arts establishment the other day was a response to criticism from Gerald Kaufman's committee about a Government obsessed with trivia.

**B**UT if there are signs that the Prime Minister is taking committee reports seriously, how soon before he moves against them? Labour's leaders are not thought to be happy about the way a critic of New Labour such as Diane Abbott, a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, gets propelled on to prime-time television.

Governments do not readily give executive power away. Ministers do not take up the seals of office in order to disarm their enemies or provision their foes. But the Blair government has devolved power to Scotland and Wales and, in sponsoring greater freedom of official information, and promising reform of Commons procedure, staked an expectation that it could live in some new geography of power and influence between Whitehall and Westminster. Strengthening the departmental select committees ought to be part of that project. Yet such reform is not just for ministers, it speaks to the self-possession even the identity of MPs. Select committee reform depends on who they think they are.

**Sources:** (1) Peter Hennessy, *The Hidden Wiring*, Gollancz, 1995; (2) House of Commons, June 25, 1979; (3) Peter Hennessy, same reference. **Picture Research:** Jane Crimin. **Anne Perkins** is a political correspondent; **David Walker** edits *Analysis*.

**Standing Order 152**  
Select Committees shall be appointed to examine the expenditure, administration and policy of the principal government departments.  
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# FinanceGuardian

## Output slumps

# Gloom in factories

Larry Elliott  
and Charlotte Denny

**B** RITISH manufacturing is officially in its first recession since John Major's administration pulled out of the Exchange Rate Mechanism, government statisticians indicated yesterday.

Ravaged by the strong pound and the crisis in Asia, output from factories fell for a second successive month in May, says the Office for National Statistics.

Sterling fell sharply on the foreign exchanges after the news, as dealers said that the Bank of England's monetary policy committee was more likely to keep interest rates

on hold when it meets later this week.

Sectors particularly sensitive to the strong pound, such as textiles and clothing, face the toughest time and contributed most to the 0.4 per cent drop in manufacturing output in May.

In the latest three months, output rose 0.1 per cent, but the Office of National Statistics estimates that the annual trend is for the sector to shrink 0.5 per cent.

This is the first time that statisticians have predicted that factories are in recession since December 1992—before the economy had had time to benefit from the cheaper pound and lower interest rates which came in the wake of Black Wednesday.

As manufacturing teeters into its fourth downturn in

the past 25 years, output is less than 4 per cent higher than at the end of the Lawson boom in the second quarter of 1990, and only about 3 per cent higher than in the aftermath of the three-day week in mid-1974.

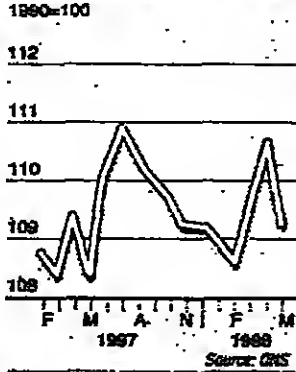
Richard Iley, of ABN Amro, said the figures were much worse than expected.

"The additional weakness in manufacturing shown by these data will further help reassure the committee that no move is necessary this month," he said.

Sterling fell two pence before recovering to finish the day at DM2.97 as traders became more confident that interest rates had peaked.

But John O'Sullivan, of BT Alex Brown, warned that even yesterday's gloomy data might not stay the commit-

## Industrial output



tee's hand on Thursday. "There is a sense from recent minutes and the May inflation report that manufacturing output data have to be

totally catastrophic in convince the committee that the inflation risks are substantially lower than it has already factored in."

Overall, industrial output fell 1.2 per cent in May, which the committee said was mainly because of the steep decline in energy supply as a result of an exceptionally cold April being followed by a mild May.

In sharp contrast to the industrial downturn, separate figures released yesterday showed that the financial sector is growing at its fastest rate for a year.

Forty-four per cent of firms reported increased activity, while only 5 per cent recorded a fall, says the latest snapshot of the sector from the Confederation of British Industry. The overall balance of 39 per

cent is the highest since June last year.

The robust growth in what is one of the fastest growing areas in the service sector highlights the dilemma facing the committee.

Buoyed by strong domestic demand and with exports making up a much smaller proportion of business, companies in some parts of the services sector are still growing at a fast rate.

But analysts expect gloom in manufacturing to spread to services.

"The danger is that the psychological effect of a prolonged recession in manufacturing could turn the hoped-for soft landing for the economy into a hard one," said Simon Briscoe of Nikko Europe, a Japanese bank based in London.

## Notebook

# Wobbly economy set for bad fall



Alex Brummer

**E**VERYONE, including the markets, appears to be feigning shock that the UK economy is cooling so rapidly. This should, however, not come as a surprise. The Treasury's official forecast, updated last month for the new fiscal strategy report, predicts growth declining from 3 per cent last year to 1.75 per cent in the 1998-99 fiscal year.

That seems to be coming about. The effect of the strong pound on the manufacturing sector is serious, as the latest industrial production figures show. But consumer confidence is also sinking fast, as a response to rising interest rates, with the Bank of England's key repo rate at 7.5 per cent.

The speed with which the economy is coming back to Earth is shown in the industrial output figures. Overall output is down 1.2 per cent and manufacturing is weaker than expected and stagnating. Engineering and textile industries seem to be suffering most.

The big unknown in the Treasury's forecast, as outlined in the fiscal report, is the effects of "market volatility in Asia and Russia" which could be potentially much more serious for the domestic economy than has been envisaged. The East Asian economies show no signs of improving. Added to this has been the uncertainty in Russia, where the IMF is seeking to stitch together a new rescue plan, and Japan, Ryutaro Hashimoto, Japan's prime minister, is doing nothing to help settle the scene there with his wavering over long-term tax reforms.

The real question for the Bank of England's monetary policy committee, when it meets later this week, is whether the strong pound, the June interest rate rise and the deepening uncertainties, are enough to ease upward pressure in earnings.

Some forecasters, like the Centre for Economics and Business Research, have revised the notion of stagflation, the combination of slow-down and rising inflation. But that appears an unlikely scenario over anything but the very short term. If the committee is convinced that there has not been a significant easing of policy, as a result of the Government's new fiscal strategy, it is reasonable to expect no change in base rates: the world is too uncertain a place.

going for a full scale merger, in the manner of the old master Lord Hanson himself, his boastful pupil Greg Hutchings has relied upon a winnowing process and in-fill acquisitions to make sense of a company which has little coherence, with a mix of businesses ranging from guns to bread.

For a time Tomkins was extremely unfashionable like all conglomerates, but now that Hutchings has learnt the language of the late nineties, with much talk of focus, the shares in his group have been playing catch-up with the rest of the stock market.

The concentration on four sectors, construction, food manufacturing, industrial engineering and professional and leisure (in which hand guns fall) could soon be down to three as a buyer is sought for the latter business where profits have been uneven and the ethics problematical. After 15-years Hutchings is learning to navigate the riptides.

He has also become the voice of caution. Surplus cash has been used to buy back shares. Although the group remains on the lookout for allied businesses, to add to those it already controls, it is clearly not impressed by the fashion for gearing up. Indeed, there are vague hints that it might be dangerous. Sensible sentiments as the Anglo-Saxon economies start to feel the Asian blast.

## Trading places

**I**RRRESPECTIVE of official moves by the London Stock Exchange, the leading stockbrokers in the City have been rapidly preparing themselves for the euro from January 1, 1999.

The more sensible houses are determined not to be in the same position as the old Smith New Court after the start of screen-based trading, as the only broking house still making a market on the floor of the Stock Exchange when everyone else had moved on to screens.

In recent months there has been endless speculation about alliances among the world's leading bourses. The US Nasdaq exchange, which is fiercely ambitious, has been working hard at forging an alliance with Deutsche Börse, or Germany's Meanwhile, in London, Liffe, the futures and options market, has been engaged in rapid reforms intended to keep itself competitive with the newly linked European futures markets. Deutsche Termin Börse, in Germany, and the Matif in France. All of this comes at a time when providers, including Commerzbank of Germany, have sought to develop their own European indices.

Clearly, it is important for the City that the London Stock Exchange, as Europe's senior and most liquid market, is not left out of these developments. A strategic alliance with Deutsche Börse would allow it to remain a significant participant in the euro game and eliminate risks in which Liffe has been exposed by staying outside Europe's screen-based futures net.

## Tomkins focus

**T**HE Hanson satellite which has remained most intact during the last two decades, despite the anti-conglomerate trend, has been Tomkins. Rather than

# Dye resurrects old City name

Julie Treanor

**P**DFM, the controversial fund management group run by Tony Dye, is raising its profile and advertising its new name—Phillips & Drew—amid speculation that it will be spun off from its newly merged parent, UBS.

PDPM has re-adopted the old City name of Phillips & Drew as a result of the merger of its parent company, Union Bank of Switzerland, with Swiss Bank Corporation.

"After being PDPM for the last five years, this July we return to the name by which you know us best—Phillips & Drew," yesterday's half-page advertisement in the Financial Times read.

The Phillips & Drew name

was dropped after the firm was bought by UBS.

Speculation is rife that Mr Dye will find it hard to work with Gory Brinson, the Chicago-based fund manager who runs the merged bank's asset management operation. The City believes that Mr Dye may mount a management buy-out or sell the business to another firm.

The advertisement emphasised Phillips & Drew's identity, which is associated with a mistaken decision by Mr Dye's more than two years ago. He pulled out of stocks, missing out on the bull run which continues today.

Unabashed, Phillips & Drew trumpeted its performance in the advertisement, saying it had been in the top quartile for a decade.

The three levers that are putting the brake on Britain's manufacturing industry

## Diageo raises Scotch stakes

### Asian crisis

Dan Atkinson

**T**HE world's biggest whisky maker has an interesting response to a 44 per cent sales crash in the Far East. It is raising prices.

Diageo, the food and drink combine created when Guinness merged with Grand Metropolitan at the end of last year, is undaunted by the third-shrinking economic crisis in Asia-Pacific markets. It is spending more on advertising and marketing, and is asking whisky drinkers to pay more.

Luke Swanson, a spokesman for Diageo, said that part of the price increase was a response to devaluation of currencies such as the yen, Malaysia's ringgit and the Indonesian rupiah.

But another factor was the need "to support their [the

brands'] premium position in the market". He added that Diageo was committed to stepping up advertising and marketing support for its Scotch brands for the duration of the Asian crisis, in order to be positioned for the upturn "whenever that is".

That means the economic crisis could be more expensive for Diageo than the cost of the lost sales may suggest. But the company takes the view that Asian drinkers will be back in force one day and is determined that it will be classic Diageo brands which they drink.

Diageo's stable of top Scotch names includes Johnnie Walker, J&B, White Horse, VAT 69, Bells and Black & White. Overall, 40 per cent of the 80 million cases of Scotch sold worldwide each year is accounted for by Diageo. Scotch is the world's favourite whisky: production of American bourbon is 12 million cases, eight million of which are for domestic consumption.

## Furniture-maker feels squeeze

### Strong pound

Charlotte Denny

**D**AVID Breese estimates sterling's march up the foreign exchanges in the last year and half has cost his small Lincolnshire company nearly half a million pounds.

His firm, Lloyd Loom of Spalding make woven fibre furniture from machine twisted paper using a technique developed in the 1930s. The company's products are sold in 42 countries, an achievement which won him a Queen's award for exports this year.

Exports are the mainstay of Mr Breese's business. But with the pound more than 20 per cent higher than its October 1996 level on a trade weighted basis, the company has had to cut its margins to hold prices down for foreign buyers.

"Our ability to make a profit has been destroyed by the false strength of the pound," he says. "It's devastated our business. We've gone from being profitable to a company just keeping its nose above water."

Mr Breese built the firm up from its beginnings 13 years ago, to a company which employs 100 local people with an annual turnover of £5 million. But plans to add another 350 jobs have been shelved. "Until 18 months ago we ploughed every penny of profit back into the business. We were going to expand here but will be forced to produce overseas instead."

Mr Breese says the Government doesn't seem to be interested in the impact the high pound is having on the manufacturing sector.

"What is a young company like ours supposed to do? Every job we create overseas is one which could have been created here."

## MFI sales 'hit by rate rise'

### Demand fall

Charlotte Denny

**L**AST week when MFI announced it was cutting 1,500 jobs, managing director John Randall insisted that the plans had been laid well before consumers lost enthusiasm for big purchases.

But the downturn in domestic demand has clearly affected the furniture manufacturing group's short-term outlook. Mr Randall says that slumping down its products and concentrating on kitchens and bedrooms, will help MFI weather "not helpful" trading conditions ahead.

Mr Randall is clear why consumers have lost interest in household goods. "Rising interest rates. The slowdown in sales dates from January when the three million households with annualised mortgages received bills some 25 per cent higher."

High-street spending while still holding up overall has fallen sharply in the consumer durables area since the turn of the year. Last year sales were boosted by the windfalls from the demutualised building societies.

But Mr Randall says the increase in sales wasn't anything like what the market expected. "It added a bit of froth on top but that has gone now." If there is evidence that interest rates have peaked, he expects consumers' confidence will return.

MFI sells two out of every five British kitchens and makes most of them in the UK. Mr Randall points out that the strength of sterling has had some positive features for his firm. "We are benefiting from lower material prices."

The company has a division in France and expects the recovery in that country to increase sales volumes and compensate for the falling margins caused by the rise of the pound.

# Swiss hit back at Holocaust campaign

**A**TTEMPTS by the US to help the families of Holocaust victims get back the assets they deposited with Swiss banks hit another hurdle yesterday when the shareholders of Credit Suisse threatened to sue New York authorities for damage inflicted on the bank's reputation, writes Julie Treanor.

Marc Fessler, a Zurich-based investment adviser, told Bloomberg news agency that he would instruct a law

firm to sue New York City and New York State unless they dropped sanctions against the bank and UBS, its larger rival.

The two local authorities imposed sanctions on the banks last week, including barring short-term investment with them and stopping them selling state and city debt unless they reached a settlement with Jewish groups by September 1.

The local authorities de-

clined to re-impose the sanctions, which were lifted last year, after talks on a global settlement between Jewish groups and the Swiss banks broke down.

The bankers offered to pay a maximum of \$600 million to settle the claims, which the Jewish leaders dismissed as "insulting" and proposed a \$1.5 billion deal.

Mr Fessler said he had the backing of four of his clients and another investor, who

together own 20,000 Credit Suisse shares, for his action. "The moment a company is blackmailed, I want to defend myself," Mr Fessler said, adding that his Bern-based lawyers believed he had a strong case.

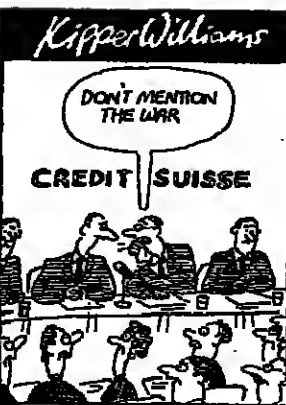
He would probably mount his challenge before September 1, when the first sanctions take effect.

If the impasse in negotiations continues, the sanctions

will become increasingly stringent and by January 1, 1999 would affect all Swiss companies.

When the sanctions were announced the Swiss government reacted furiously, and said it would support any legal action taken by Swiss companies.

It threatened to complain to the World Trade Organisation, which is responsible for global trading regulations.



## TOURIST RATES — BANK SELLS

Australia 2.807	Germany 2.9015	Malaysia 6.32	Singapore 2.78
Austria 20.45	Greece 465.49	Malta 0.63	South Africa 16.79
Belgium 59.58	Hong Kong 12.37	Netherlands 3.2615	Spain 245.13
Canada 2.24	India 89.54	New Zealand 3.11	Sweden 13.02
Cyprus 0.85	Ireland 1.1452	Norway 12.41	Switzerland 2.447
Denmark 11.14	Israel 6.05	Portugal 285.61	Turkey 429.739
Finland 8.92	Italy 2.672	Saudi Arabia 0.06	USA 1.9978
France 9.728			

Supplied by NatWest, excluding rupee, shekel and raddia



Continent's most powerful operators join forces as London brokers fear missing out on euro trading

# Exchange to tie with German bourse

Alex Brummer and Jill Tresson

**T**HE London Stock Exchange and Deutsche Börse, of Frankfurt, are today expected to launch a new era of strategic co-operation before the launch of the euro on January 1 next year.

The two exchanges, which until have been seen as rivals for business in euro equities, have scheduled a joint announcement at the Savoy Hotel in London.

It is understood that the

strategic link between the exchanges, the two most powerful in Europe, initially will not involve equity or ownership links between London and Frankfurt which have different ownership structures and governance. Nevertheless, the coming together of the two markets demonstrates the determination of London to remain the key participant in equity trading after the launch of the euro.

The possibility of joint ventures between the London Stock Exchange, the largest and most liquid in Europe, and Deutsche Börse, follows efforts by US and Continental

stock and futures markets to build new alliances for the euro era.

In recent months Deutsche Börse has held talks with New York's Nasdaq market change in Brussels. Leading London stockbrokers have become increasingly concerned that the London Stock Exchange could be sidelined after the launch of the euro, in the same position as Liffe, the London futures and options market, which has been struggling in recent months to catch up with European counterparts winning back

screen-based trading and to abolish its memberships in favour of more corporate ownership and a stronger profit motive. Concerns remain, however, that it will not have the software in place to compete with European futures markets in time for euro trading.

Leading London firms believe that an essential factor for the City to maintain its position as the most important equity trading centre in Europe is compatibility between its new order-driven SET trading system and the CREST settlement system. There is also a belief that the

business through screen-based trading and linked systems in Frankfurt and Paris. Liffe has been belatedly forced to switch trading systems from open-outcry to screen-based trading and to abolish its memberships in favour of more corporate ownership and a stronger profit motive. Concerns remain, however, that it will not have the software in place to compete with European futures markets in time for euro trading.

euro indexes being built up in London, such as the FTSE Eurotop 100 and the FTSE 300, could be overtaken. "There has been proliferation of European index brands," one senior stockbroker said last night.

It would make sense if London and Frankfurt attempted to work this out together so that there is a European-wide standard," he added.

Individual institutions in Europe, such as Commerzbank, have been developing European-wide funds and indexes in an effort to get ahead of competitors. The need for

unified indexes, which offer uniform trading standards across Europe, is particularly important given the spread of derivatives trading which is often based around stock indexes. Fund managers also have been looking for ways to establish European-wide benchmarks which track the largest companies across Europe.

Only last month GEC, of Britain, and Alcatel, of France, decided to split-off Alstom, the power group, on the Paris market to ensure that it had a euro quote and was included in the any new European investment funds.

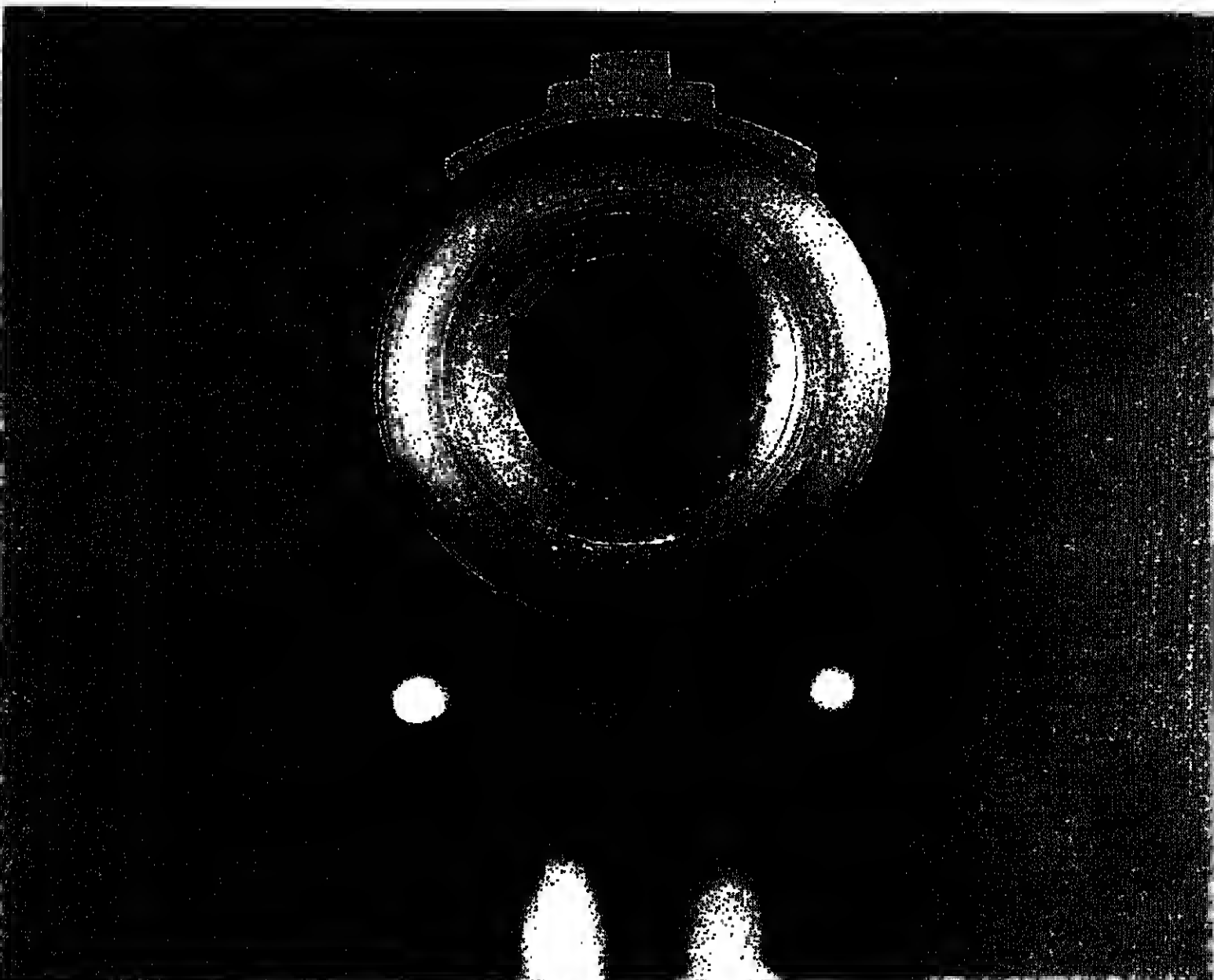
**'It makes sense for London and Frankfurt to work this out together so that there is a European-wide standard'**

which has been anxious to increase its European presence. There also has been an effort to replicate the Nasdaq market in Europe, with the small operation of the Easdaq ex-

change in Brussels. Leading London stockbrokers have become increasingly concerned that the London Stock Exchange could be sidelined after the launch of the euro, in the same position as Liffe, the London futures and options market, which has been struggling in recent months to catch up with European counterparts winning back

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## Credit warning



Biting the bullet... Smith & Wesson may be sold as Tomkins restructures in expectation of a recession

## Attack on reckless borrowing

Roger Cowe

**G**REG HUTCHINGS, chairman of the food and engineering group Tomkins, warned yesterday that British companies were being reckless in pushing up borrowings ahead of a recession.

"I am sure there will be a recession in the next five years and I don't want to be over-stretched. If you go into a recession highly geared, it's tough. I want our capital structure to be effective but

not reckless," he said, predicting that high debt levels would create problems for companies most exposed to falling demand and the high pound.

"I think things will change dramatically over the next six months. With the Asian crisis and the high pound, cash flows are drying up and there have been lots of profit warnings."

Tomkins, whose brands range from Hovis to Smith & Wesson guns, has refused to follow the fashion of "gearing up" with extra debt despite

the potential benefits for shareholders in substituting loans for share capital.

It has debts of £150 million, about 15 per cent of its capital, which is Mr Hutchings's target level. "An effective capital structure means one from which you can move. If we go into recession I don't want to be over-stretched, then if the stock market goes down we will be able to take some opportunities."

Despite this caution, the group spent £741 million last year on 15 acquisitions, including six Spillers flour

mills. It also spent £28 million to buy back shares and announced yesterday that shareholders would be asked to approve further buy-back powers at the annual meeting.

Last year profits reached £500 million for the first time — a 18 per cent increase on the previous year.

The group has attempted to escape the unfashionable "conglomerate" tag by reorganising into three broad divisions. The largest comprises the food manufacturing operations based on Rank Hovis McDougall, which had sales

last year of £1.9 billion. Engineering sales reached £1.5 billion, while components for the construction industry produced £1.2 billion.

The reorganisation leaves the threat of disposal hanging over Smith & Wesson, along with garden and leisure companies. A decision will be made in the next 18 months.

Mr Hutchings said the group's strong finances and balance of interests would help cope with tough conditions, while there was still scope for acquisitions in the three main business areas.

## Bullish banks told to get real

Jill Tresson

**M**ANY banks are taking risks that could lead to collapse if the world economy slows and stock markets fall in value, a report from a think-tank says today.

The report, Banking Barons Skins, is based on the views of almost 200 bankers, regulators and analysts. It says a crash on Wall Street is the bankers' biggest fear.

The Centre for the Study of Financial Innovation warns that banks in the competitive British market will be particularly vulnerable to the end of the bull run.

The report quotes Tony Davies, director of group risk management at Lloyds TSB, as seeing the current benign economic environment creating "an increased risk appetite with a repetition of the very aggressive transactions that characterised the late 1980s".

A respondent from the building society sector — where lending criteria for mortgages appear to be less stringent — expressed concern about "irrational actions based on a belief that current benign business conditions will continue forever".

Investment bankers are worried, too. The chairman of one London merchant bank bemoaned "the institutionalised belief that good trading markets will continue for some time".

Overall, tougher market conditions combined with the expensive race to install new technology to beat the millennium bug and prepare for Europe's single currency, are sending "loud and clear" alarm bells, the report says.

Costs, particularly those associated with technology, are seen as out of control; one fund manager said expenditure in the securities business "assumes that the global bull market rolls on".

The report also predicts that merger mania in the banking sector will bring chaos, with the resulting groups too big to manage and riddled with culture clashes among their de-motivated staff.

## Mackenzie snares Talk

Chris Barrie and Simon Beavis

**K**ELVIN MacKenzie, former editor of the Sun and the man widely credited with turning round the Mirror, was last night set to take on the radio industry as his consortium emerged as the only viable bidder for Talk Radio.

A rival bid for Talk, the national radio station controlled by Luxembourg broadcaster CLT-UIA, collapsed last night after Talk's management failed to agree with backers on an increase to their rival offer.

The management consortium, led by managing director Paul Robinson and backed by the Guardian Media Group and United News and Media, had bid £20 million for Talk.

By contrast Mr MacKenzie's consortium, including Rupert Murdoch's News International and venture group MVI, had offered £25 million and were on the brink of securing a period of exclusivity in the run-up to signing a deal.

The MBO leaves CLT-UIA negotiating effectively with just Mr MacKenzie's consortium.

It was unclear last night if the MBO team would formally withdraw, but observers were discounting its

chances of succeeding, given the difference in bid and the fact that both bids are in cash.

The Luxembourg group is selling its 62.3 per cent stake to raise cash for investment in digital television, mainly in Germany. MVI already holds a 35 per cent stake in Talk, with remaining shares held by Radio Investments.

Lebman Brothers, representing CLT-UIA, declined to comment. However, the bank is known to have sought £28 million for Talk after a recent spate of radio station sales saw bidders paying hefty prices.

Talk lost £10 million on £3.7 million turnover last year, but is understood to be benefiting from its World Cup coverage which is on track to more than double sales to £7.5 million. Mr MacKenzie is understood to feel that this performance can be maintained beyond the World Cup.

Analysts have been divided about Rupert Murdoch's motives for backing the bid by his former lieutenant for Talk by taking a 20 per cent stake in Mr MacKenzie's consortium.

Some saw it as a sly and relatively inexpensive way to dislodge Mr MacKenzie from the Mirror Group at a time when there were signs that the Mirror titles were being given a lift. Others believe the News Corp chief has real ambitions to be a radio player.

## News in brief

### Defence review may mean job cuts

BRITAIN'S armoured vehicle-makers could be forced to cut capacity as a result of the defence review, industry executives said. Defence Secretary George Robertson will start a bidding war for contracts of £1.5 billion for 400 reconnaissance vehicles when he publishes the review tomorrow. — David Goss

### Chiroscience pay-off

DIAGNOSTICS group Chiroscience reached an agreement with Nowell Stebbing, its former chief, over a writ he issued against it in 1996. Dr Stebbing was paid £101,000 compensation when he quit, but a dispute arose over share options. Chiroscience is to pay Dr Stebbing £3.25 million. — Jan King

### Pace loses £12m

PACE Micro Technology, the decoder firm, made a £12 million loss on £184 million turnover last year. The loss was brushed aside by chief executive Malcolm Miller, who said Pace was well positioned for digital TV's launch. — Chris Barrie

### Securicor acquisition

SECURICOR's parcel-carrying subsidiary, Securicor Omega Express, said it acquired Hays Express Services, the parcels business of Hays Commercial Services, for £16.7 million in cash.

### Record mis-selling fines

A RECORD 40 firms have been fined a total of £157,000 for delays in compensating victims of the £11 billion pensions mis-selling scandal. Treasury minister Helen Liddell today will order firms to do better or face the consequences. — Rupert Jones

### Matthew Clark squeezed

MATTHEW Clark, the drinks group which owns Gaymers and Taunton Cider, warned that its brands were still fighting to protect their market share. The group announced a fall in full-year pre-tax profits from £40.6 million to £35.5 million. Shares advanced 3p to 184p. — Jan King

## Bankruptcies could bring return of state-run rail routes

Keith Harper Transport Editor

**T**HE Government will take over the routes of rail companies that go bankrupt in the first move which could return part of the industry to the public sector, Whitehall sources confirmed last night.

The Deputy Prime Minister, John Prescott, has decided that the Govern-

ment's proposed strategic rail authority will assume responsibility for bankrupt routes.

He will outline the role of the authority, dubbed "son of British Rail", in his transport white paper later this month. The plan is to introduce a short bill in the next parliamentary session so the SRA can be in place by next year.

Whitehall sources stressed that government take-

over of bankrupt companies would not be the prelude to renationalisation of the industry. If a suitable private operator came forward, it would be given proper consideration.

One said: "This is not a return to the bad old days. We have to build on what we have inherited and make sure the public is getting the best deal, which is not happening at the moment."

None of the 25 train oper-

ating companies has encountered financial difficulties, although there are reports that some of the smaller companies are beginning to cut back on replacing management.

Wales and the West, which serves the West Country and South Wales, has reduced services because it has insufficient drivers, and it will face severe financial penalties.

Rural routes, where the

population is small, the government subsidy high and financial returns frugal, are most vulnerable. When the franchisees were awarded, a number of the successful companies made over-ambitious bids.

The SRA will be the industry's strategic arm. It will make decisions about the rail franchises, which are due for renewal in less than five years, and will be able to intervene if it

thinks the industry is failing to perform.

At present, the rail franchise director, John O'Brien, is supposed to vet each private operator. If one collapses, he can introduce a new company or run the business himself. His office confirmed yesterday that several "shelf companies" were ready in case of an emergency. They would be run largely by former British Rail officials.

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VOLVO ADVANTAGE S40 1.8i (125 bhp) SE (ON THE ROAD)	ON THE ROAD PRICE.....£17,895.00
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## Racing

Graham Rock expects a smart performance from Geoff Wragg's consistent five-year-old at Newmarket

## Germano has winning glow

**H**EALTHY horses are the key to a successful season for any trainer, and Geoff Wragg has struggled so far this year. But one horse from his string to have run consistently well is Germano (3-40), who has a good chance to land the Prince of Wales's Stakes (3.40) at Newmarket today.

A smooth winner of the Gordon Richards Stakes at Sandown on his reappearance, Germano was slightly disappointing on a return visit to the course for the Brigadier Gerard Stakes, finishing third to Instabile and Garuda, four lengths behind the runner-up, who meets the selection on identical terms.

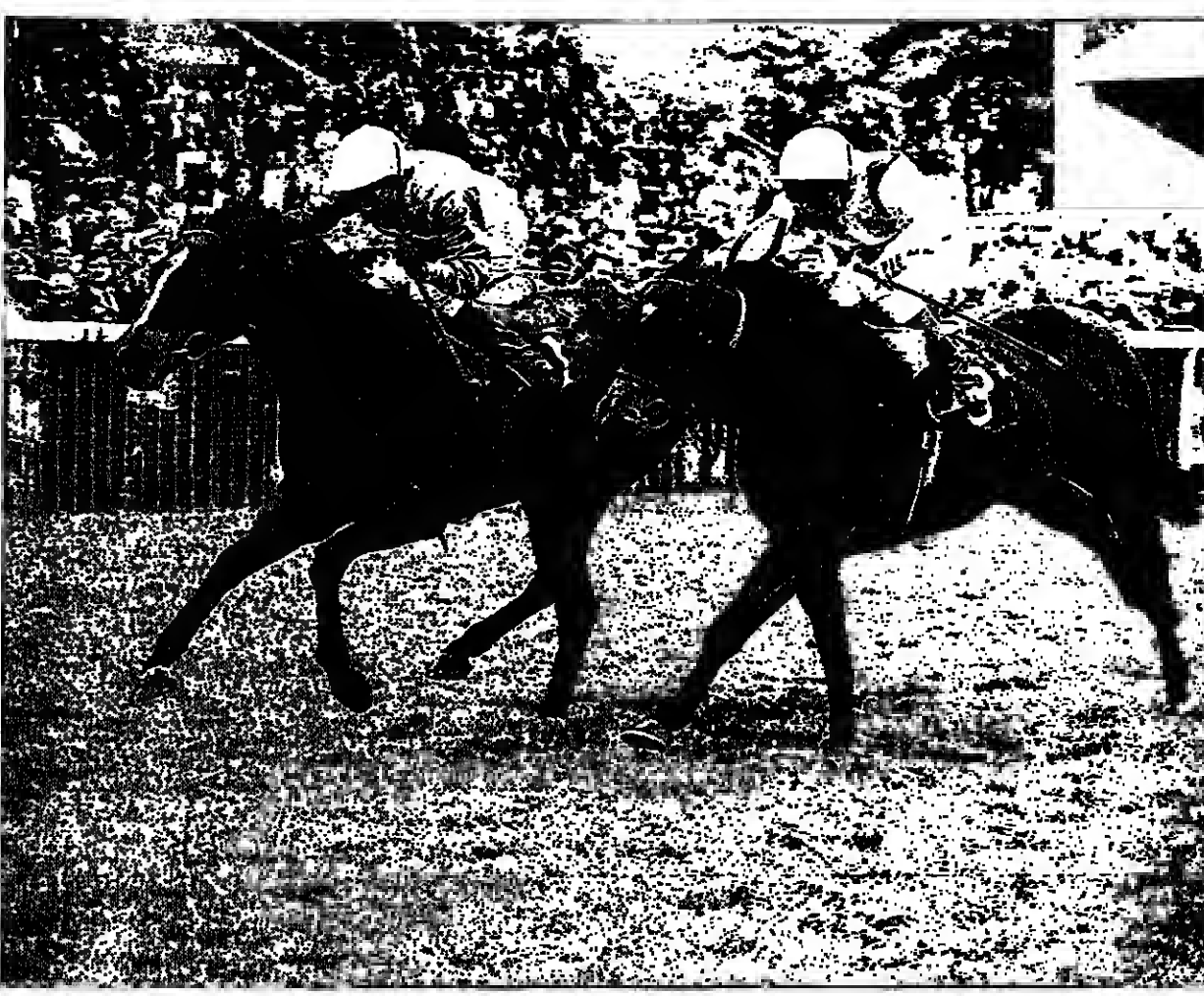
Stepped up to a mile and a half for the Hardwicke Stakes at Royal Ascot, Germano ran one of the best races of his career in finishing runner-up to Posidonia, beaten half a length, and if he can reproduce that performance he should take his revenge on Garuda, who subsequently finished fifth to Ungaro in the Gran Premio di Milano.

Single Empire, winner of the Derby Italiani last year, makes his seasonal reappearance and is set to concede weight all round, while Sabidilla was runner-up to Greek Palace in the Bessborough Stakes, and makes his first venture into Pattern company.

A bigger danger could be Easton Square, unbeaten in minor races at Newbury and Goodwood, but Henry Cecil's promising three-year-old faces much more formidable opposition here.

Pipalong (4-5) was outpaced by Bint Allayl in the closing stages of the Queen Mary Stakes. Previously successful at Ripon and York, she can pick up the winning thread in the Charles Heid-sieck Champagne Cherry Hinton Stakes (3.05), provided she acts on this faster ground.

David Loder saddles both Blue Melody, who won on her debut at Leicester, and Spirit



Cherry ripe... Pipalong (left), the favourite for the Cherry Hinton, defeats Bint Allayl at York. PHOTOGRAPH BY ALEC RUSSELL

Willing, who was impressive when winning by seven lengths at Ascot. Spirit Willing should be the better of the pair, but Pipalong has superior form and Tim Easterby's filly should not be troubled by a sixth furling.

Another Ascot failure, Miss-bah (4-10), is worth an interest in the Lincoln Mill Cigars Rated Stakes, but Hanbury's colt finished ninth behind

Plan-B in the Britannia Stakes, beaten about three lengths, having previously divided Sharp Play and Tracking in a conditions event at Thirsk.

The form of the Britannia is working out well and he will take some beating, despite being dropped back to six furlongs.

Lyndia Ramsden has several good chances at Pontefract. Her daughter, Emma, might

ride the winner of the Hyde Sporting Promotions Ladies Handicap aboard Sharkey (2-20) and while Courtessan (2-50) has to concede weight to the field in the Diamne Nursery, the Doncaster winner has more scope than her rivals.

Mouche (5-00) has been unlucky in her recent races over sprint distances and attempts a mile in the King Richard III Fillies' Handicap.

If she stays, she should have the measure of some moderate rivals and looks a worthy nup.

Kieren Fallon, who rode for the Ramdens before joining Henry Cecil last year, has failed in his appeal against the three-day ban he was given for the stewards for his riding of Monrovia in the Curragh Cup nine days ago. His suspension begins tomorrow.

## Prescott ready for York assault

Graham Rock

**P**ASTERNAK, who carries the colours of your correspondent's favourite for the John Smith's Cup at York on Saturday, priced from 7-2 with Ladbrokes and 11-4 with Coral and the Betfair, has been a success in the race last year and his subsequent triumph in the Cambridgehire, the men who make the odds are taking no chances, despite him being raised 9lb for his victory at Newmarket.

What can I tell you? He is well. A tentative plan to run in the Lincoln was abandoned early in March, and then Sir Mark Prescott began to cough. He was not ready for the Hunt Cup, and the big race of the weekend is his natural target.

Never a flashy worker at home, he has pleased in his recent exercise on Newmarket. He would not want either extreme of going, but if the ground were good and the pace were strong, he would have a favourite's chance.

Emerald Heights, runner-up to Double Classic in the Vase Handicap at Royal Ascot, is second in the ante-post market, a best-priced 9-1 with Coral, while the promising three-year-old Mubih (10-1) Coral and Ladbrokes and Porto Monforte (16-1) Coral are relatively unexposed.

The Royal Hunt Cup winner Refuse To Lose is 14-1 generally, but those looking to oppose Pasternak might consider the French challenger Punishment (16-1) Total, who finished second in the Yvonne de Gaulle Stakes at the Hong Kong Jockey Club Trophy at Sandown.

## Results

**BATH**  
2.20 (14-1) 1. DROGUE, F. Quinn (14-1); 2. My Palfrey (14-1); 3. Palfrey (14-1); 4. Palfrey (14-1); 5. Palfrey (14-1); 6. Palfrey (14-1); 7. Palfrey (14-1); 8. Palfrey (14-1); 9. Palfrey (14-1); 10. Palfrey (14-1); 11. Palfrey (14-1); 12. Palfrey (14-1); 13. Palfrey (14-1); 14. Palfrey (14-1); 15. Palfrey (14-1); 16. Palfrey (14-1); 17. Palfrey (14-1); 18. Palfrey (14-1); 19. Palfrey (14-1); 20. Palfrey (14-1); 21. Palfrey (14-1); 22. Palfrey (14-1); 23. Palfrey (14-1); 24. Palfrey (14-1); 25. Palfrey (14-1); 26. Palfrey (14-1); 27. Palfrey (14-1); 28. Palfrey (14-1); 29. Palfrey (14-1); 30. Palfrey (14-1); 31. Palfrey (14-1); 32. Palfrey (14-1); 33. Palfrey (14-1); 34. Palfrey (14-1); 35. Palfrey (14-1); 36. Palfrey (14-1); 37. Palfrey (14-1); 38. Palfrey (14-1); 39. Palfrey (14-1); 40. Palfrey (14-1); 41. Palfrey (14-1); 42. Palfrey (14-1); 43. Palfrey (14-1); 44. Palfrey (14-1); 45. Palfrey (14-1); 46. Palfrey (14-1); 47. Palfrey (14-1); 48. Palfrey (14-1); 49. Palfrey (14-1); 50. 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France 98



Rags to riches... Ronaldo yesterday found himself far removed from his humble origins in Rua General Cesar Obino

PHOTOGRAPH: DIETHE ENDOCHER

# Mean street where the young Ronaldo first got his kicks

Alex Bellos visits the family that Brazil's superstar left behind in Rio

**R**UA General Cesar Obino is like any other suburban Brazilian street. It has a bar, a primary school and an evangelical church. An old woman sits in the sun on the steps outside her home. Children are kicking a football around. World Cup decorations — flags and yellow-and-green ribbons — hang across the road. The Eiffel Tower is painted on the ground with the word "BRASIL".

This is the road where Ronaldo Luis Nazario de Lima lived for 17 years. In 1994 he moved to Europe and, losing his middle and surname, became one of the world's most famous sportsmen. Today he faces the most important match of his 21 years when Brazil meet Holland for a place in the World Cup final.

For the residents of Rua General Cesar Obino, however, life is little changed. For them Ronaldo's career path is difficult to comprehend. It seems no time at all since the shy boy nicknamed Dado — Gimme — used to hang out with them on the street.

"No one ever thought he would be the best in the world," says his old friend Marcio Peres, 22, who was in the army but is now unemployed. One of Ronaldo's close relatives live at the address in the poor Rio de Janeiro suburb of Bento Ribeiro where he was brought up, a messy plot

of land with three small box homes. A paper sign taped to the stone gatepost reads: "Kites for sale."

The doorman does not work. Only when one of the boys is playing street football jumps on the wall and shouts does anyone emerge from the house at the rear of the yard. It is Ronaldo's aunt, Adriana, who is selling paper kites, painted with the Brazilian strip, for the equivalent of 15p.

When Ronaldo was there he slept on the sofa in the living-room which he shared with his older brother Nello. His mother was a shop assistant at a snack bar and his father an engineer with the telephone company. Now they live apart in well-furnished homes in rich parts of Rio.

Other relatives stayed in Bento Ribeiro. Adriana and her husband Roger, a policeman, now live in Ronaldo's house with their daughter. Their World Cup decorations are modest in Rio terms: three Brazilian flags hanging on the outside walls.

Inside there are no signs that the family has any connection with Ronaldo. There are no photographs, no posters. His only influence is a Nike T-shirt on the clothes line in the courtyard — a gift when he paid a visit at Christmas.

The homes are simply furnished. There is no telephone but the family has a large freezer and a decent-sized television set connected to cable. Five family members are watching a cartoon. Giselle, 12, looks disconcertingly like her big cousin, sharing the same toothy grin.

Another cousin, Suzi Pinheiro Barata, 26, says: "Everyone always asks what he has brought us. But generally he doesn't help the family. He's not a bad person but he's very young. He's just doing what his business people want at the moment. The gate was falling down so we rebuilt it. People thought it was from his money but we paid it ourselves."

Like the rest of Brazil, Ronaldo's family will be cheering him on today and hoping that his pledge to score most goals in the tournament will finally be realised.

## Laudrup out to give his all to Chelsea

**B**RIAN LAUDRUP quit international football yesterday and said he would put all his efforts into making a success of his move to Chelsea.

The 29-year-old former Rangers striker won 82 caps for Denmark and scored his 12th international goal in the 3-2 quarter-final defeat by Brazil on Friday. He had been expected to spearhead their 2000 European Championship qualifying campaign, which starts on September 5 in Belarus.

His older brother Michael also announced before France 98 that the tournament would be his last.

Arif Ortega will miss the first three matches of next year's Copa America in Paraguay after being sent off in Saturday's quarter-final for butting the Holland goalkeeper Edwin van der Sar, having picked up a yellow card for diving in the penalty area after a challenge by Jaap Stam.

The Germany defender Christian Wörns, sent off in the 3-0 quarter-final defeat by Croatia for a late tackle on Davor Suker, will miss the first two qualifying matches of the European Championship.

Rinus Michels, the mastermind of the Dutch "total football" philosophy of the 1970s and the coach who guided Holland to the 1974 World Cup final, was in hospital yesterday after suffering a heart attack. Fifa said he was in a stable condition and was expected to leave hospital in a few days.

Michels, known as "the General", returned as Holland's coach in 1988 and guided them to victory in that year's European Championship.

## Clogger

A furtive glance at France 98

Kicks stuff? The debate about whether 11 Ronaldos could win the World Cup should be solved in 2018. At least 16 boys born in the Albanian part of Yugoslavia took part in the tournament have been named after the Brazil striker. Parents there are also using garden shears to force a gap between their child's front teeth.

Gabriel Baptista (below) is "Baptista" and Michael Owen has been dubbed "Babygoal" but why stop there? Jim Leighton should surely be known as "No-Be-Better-Off-Than-Someone-Else-In-Gol".

France's strikers as "Anyone remember the way to the goal?" and the card-wielding Mexican Arturo Brizuela as "Off-pool". Or, if you wouldn't mind, include Paraguay's defender Francisco "Arrogant" Rojo.

Remembering namesless news of a challenge for the title "the new John Motson". A "recent commentary by the Cameroonians Hamed" also included "the remarkable insight: 'During passes to someone 'Of course 'Mystic' Roy Keegan would know where the ball was heading long before it had been kicked."

Top game: Inevitably, shooting has been the theme of several coaches but it was a blessing for customers watching

## Home round-up Wednesday woo Wilson from irate Barnsley

**S**HEFFIELD Wednesday finally got their man yesterday, ending offensively a three-year pursuit of Danny Wilson, much to the anger of Barnsley's forthright chairman John Dennis.

A Sheffield-made short South Yorkshire journey and Barnsley's veteran forward John Hendrie was promoted in his place at Oakwell. Dennis made his feelings clear about the loss of one of the most highly rated young managers in English football.

"The events of the last few days were unwelcome, unsolicited and very disappointing," said Dennis, who recalled the 35-year-old Wilson's public pledge to stay at Oakwell shortly after Barnsley's relegation concluded their only season in the top flight.

He claimed Wednesday's failure to attract a foreign coach, and Walter Smith's late rejection of Hillsborough in favour of Everton last week, had prompted "the unwelcome approach for Danny".

Dennis said: "We tried everything to get Danny to stay. It wasn't a money thing. Danny had a good relationship as a player with Wednesday, and it was the only club he would have left Barnsley for."

"Wednesday contacted me in the middle of last week and I told them to go away, but I was honour-bound to tell Danny about the approach."

Dave Richards, Wednesday's chairman, is believed to have offered sizeable transfer funds to Wilson to seal the deal for the man who was first approached by his club in May 1995. Now Wilson returns to Hillsborough as successor to Ron Atkinson.

Although Richards admitted it was "an understatement" to



Paolister... back at Boro



## Road to the final

<b>Denmark</b> Payer 68 Attendance: 38,140 Sat, June 12 - Monaco	<b>Bulgaria</b> Attendance: 27,850 Sat, June 13 - Nantes	<b>Mexico</b> Peters 51, Hernandez 73, 84 Attendance: 37,580 Sat, June 14 - St-Denis
<b>Spain</b> Duguey 35, Ima (pg) 78, Henry 80 South Africa	<b>France</b> Hamo 21, Raul 47 Nigeria Adeniji 24, Lame 73, Olan 79 Attendance: 32,857	<b>Holland</b> Attendance: 75,000 Sat, June 20 - Bordeaux
<b>Attendance: 55,077</b> Sat, June 15 - Amsterdam	<b>Nigeria</b> Ikeji 27 Bulgaria	<b>Belgium</b> Attendance: 34,750 Sat, June 25 - St-Denis
<b>South Africa</b> McCarthy 68 Denmark Nelson 13 Attendance: 35,500 Sat, June 15 - St-Denis	<b>Attendance: 45,500</b> Sat, June 15 - St-Denis	<b>South Korea</b> Attendance: 60,000 Sat, June 25 - St-Denis
<b>France</b> Henry 30, 77, Traouquet 89, Llerena 85 Saudi Arabia	<b>Spain</b> Attendance: 35,000 Wed, June 24 - Lyon	<b>Holland</b> Coca 37, Overmars 41, Bergkamp 71, Van Hoolst 73, H De Boer 85 South Korea Attendance: 60,000 Sat, June 25 - St-Denis
<b>Attendance: 75,000</b> Wed, June 24 - Lyon	<b>Spain</b> Hamo (pg) 6, Luis Enrique 16, Morales 59,81 Kiko 86,90 Bulgaria Kozhedov 88 Attendance: 40,600	<b>Holland</b> Coca 4, R de Boer 19 Mexico Polek 75, Hernandez 80 Attendance: 35,500
<b>France</b> Opastich 13, Piel 56 Denmark M Laudrup (pg) 42 Attendance: 43,600	<b>Nigeria</b> Ogun 10 Paraguay Aytha 1, Bantek 30, Caribao 86 Attendance: 35,500	<b>Belgium</b> Nils 7 South Korea Yoo 70 Attendance: 45,500

F	P	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
Germany	3	2	1	0	6	7	
Yugoslavia	3	2	1	0	4	7	
Iran	3	1	0	2	4	3	
USA	3	0	1	2	1	0	
Sat, June 14 - St-Denis							
<b>Yugoslavia</b> Mihalovic 73 Iran							
Attendance: 30,392							
<b>Germany</b> Moller 9, Klavanen 85 United States							
Attendance: 43,676							
<b>Germany</b> Mihalovic (pg) 73, Blechhoff 80 Yugoslavia Mihalovic 13, Bekovic 84 Attendance: 40,773							
Sat, June 21 - Lyon							
<b>United States</b> Ronaldo 87 Iran							
Attendance: 44,000							
<b>Germany</b> Blechhoff 80, Klavanen 88 Iran							
Attendance: 35,000							
Sat, June 23 - Nantes							
<b>United States</b> Yugoslavia Karjanev 4 Attendance: 39,000							

G	P	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
Romania	3	2	1	0	4	7	
England	3	2	0	1	5	6	
Spain	3	1	0	2	1	3	
Tunisia	3	0	1	2	1	1	
Sat, June 14 - Marseille							
<b>England</b> Storer 42, Scholes 80 Tunisia							
Attendance: 34,567							
<b>Romania</b> Iva 45 Colombia							
Attendance: 37,573							
<b>Spain</b> Pineda 83 Tunisia							
Attendance: 35,000							
Sat, June 22 - Toulouse							
<b>Romania</b> Moldovan 47, Petrescu 80 England Owen 83 Attendance: 37,500							
<b>Romania</b> Moldovan 70 Tunisia Soufjan 10 Attendance: 30,000							
Sat, June 23 - Lens							
<b>England</b> Anderson 20, Beckham 30 Attendance: 41,275							

H	P	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
Argentina	3	2	0	1	6	8	
Croatia	3	2	0	1	4	6	
Japan	3	1	0	2	3	3	
Japan	3	0	1	2	1	0	
Sat, June 14 - Toulouse							
<b>Argentina</b> Bustini 25 Japan							
Attendance: 33,400							
<b>Argentina</b> Eusebio 45 Croatia Slank 27, Prosenicki 69, Suker 80 Attendance: 38,000							
Sat, June 20 - Nantes							
<b>Japan</b> Suker 77 Attendance: 38,000							
Sat, June 21 - Paris							
<b>Argentina</b> Cayula 22, Hernandez 73, 70, (pg) 83 Japan							
Attendance: 45,500							
Sat, June 21 - Bordeaux							
<b>Argentina</b> Pineda 36 Croatia							
Attendance: 35,000							
Sat, June 22 - Lyon							
<b>Japan</b> Nagayama 76 Jennings 70 Whitmore 39, 84 Attendance: 45,500							

SECOND ROUND	G	P	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
Sat, June 27 - Nantes								
<b>Italy</b> Vieri 11, 57 Norway								
Attendance: 60,000								
Sat, June 28 - St-Denis								
<b>France</b> Braz 114 Paraguay								
Attendance: 41,275								
Sat, June 29 - Marseille								
<b>Romania</b> Moldovan 70 Tunisia Soufjan 10 Attendance: 30,000								
Sat, June 30 - Lens								
<b>England</b> Anderson 20, Beckham 30 Attendance: 41,275								

THIRD ROUND	G	P	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
Sat, June 27 - Nantes								
<b>Italy</b> Vieri 11, 57 Norway								
Attendance: 60,000								
Sat, June 28 - St-Denis								
<b>France</b> Braz 114 Paraguay								
Attendance: 41,275								
Sat, June 29 - Marseille								
<b>Romania</b> Moldovan 70 Tunisia Soufjan 10 Attendance: 30,000								
Sat, June 30 - Lens								
<b>England</b> Anderson 20, Beckham 30 Attendance: 41,275								

QUARTER FINALS	G	P	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
Sat, June 27 - Nantes								
<b>Italy</b> Vieri 11, 57 Norway								
Attendance: 60,000								
Sat, June 28 - St-Denis								
<b>France</b> Braz 114 Paraguay								
Attendance: 41,275								
Sat, June 29 - Marseille								
<b>Romania</b> Moldovan 70 Tunisia Soufjan 10 Attendance: 30,000								
Sat, June 30 - Lens								
<b>England</b> Anderson 20, Beckham 30 Attendance: 41,275								

SEMI FINALS	G	P	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
Sat, June 27 - Nantes								
<b>Italy</b> Vieri 11, 57 Norway								
Attendance: 60,000								
Sat, June 28 - St-Denis								
<b>France</b> Braz 114 Paraguay								
Attendance: 41,275								
Sat, June 29 - Marseille								
<b>Romania</b> Moldovan 70 Tunisia Soufjan 10 Attendance: 30,000								
Sat, June 30 - Lens								
<b>England</b> Anderson 20, Beckham 30 Attendance: 41,275								

3RD/4TH PLACE PLAY-OFF	G	P	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
Sat, June 27 - Nantes								
<b>Italy</b> Vieri 11, 57 Norway								
Attendance: 60,000								
Sat, June 28 - St-Denis								
<b>France</b> Braz 114 Paraguay								
Attendance: 41,275								
Sat, June 29 - Marseille								
<b>Romania</b> Moldovan 70 Tunisia Soufjan 10 Attendance: 30,000								
Sat, June 30 - Lens								
<b>England</b> Anderson 20, Beckham 30 Attendance: 41,275								

FINAL	G	P	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
Sat, June 27 - Nantes								
<b>Italy</b> Vieri 11, 57 Norway								
Attendance: 60,000								
Sat, June 28 - St-Denis								
<b>France</b> Braz 114 Paraguay								
Attendance: 41,275								
Sat, June 29 - Marseille								
<b>Romania</b> Moldovan 70 Tunisia Soufjan 10 Attendance: 30,000								
Sat, June 30 - Lens								
<b>England</b> Anderson 20, Beckham 30 Attendance: 41,275								

Winner of first semi-final	
Winner of second semi-final	
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France 98: The Dutch keep dreaming, page 18

Ronaldo's home thoughts from abroad, page 19

O'Sullivan's £61,000 fine, page 17

Rewriting the tennis rankings, page 17

## SportsGuardian

## South Africa thwarted by last pair's defiance

England v South Africa: third Cornhill Test, final day

## England pass endurance test

Mike Selvey at Old Trafford sees the home side last out in a classic nail-biter

FROM the most unpromising of beginnings, a memorable Test was played out at Old Trafford yesterday — perhaps even one of the greatest. This was the Great Escape II. Asked to bat out all but 35 minutes of the last two days to save the match, England drew with South Africa by the skin of their teeth with a rearguard action to rival that in Johannesburg three years ago.

In the end, for all the resilience and dedication shown by those who had preceded him, England depended on the ability of Angus Fraser, a No. 11 of no pretensions, to play six deliveries from Allan Donald, indisputably one of history's finest fast bowlers. England had reached 388 for nine, wiping out the deficit so that at least South Africa would have to bat again and score one run to win should the last wicket fall. In theory there were four overs of the day remaining but in fact Donald had just six balls to set up the victory, as any portion of an over counts as a whole one and two overs would go for the changeover of innings.

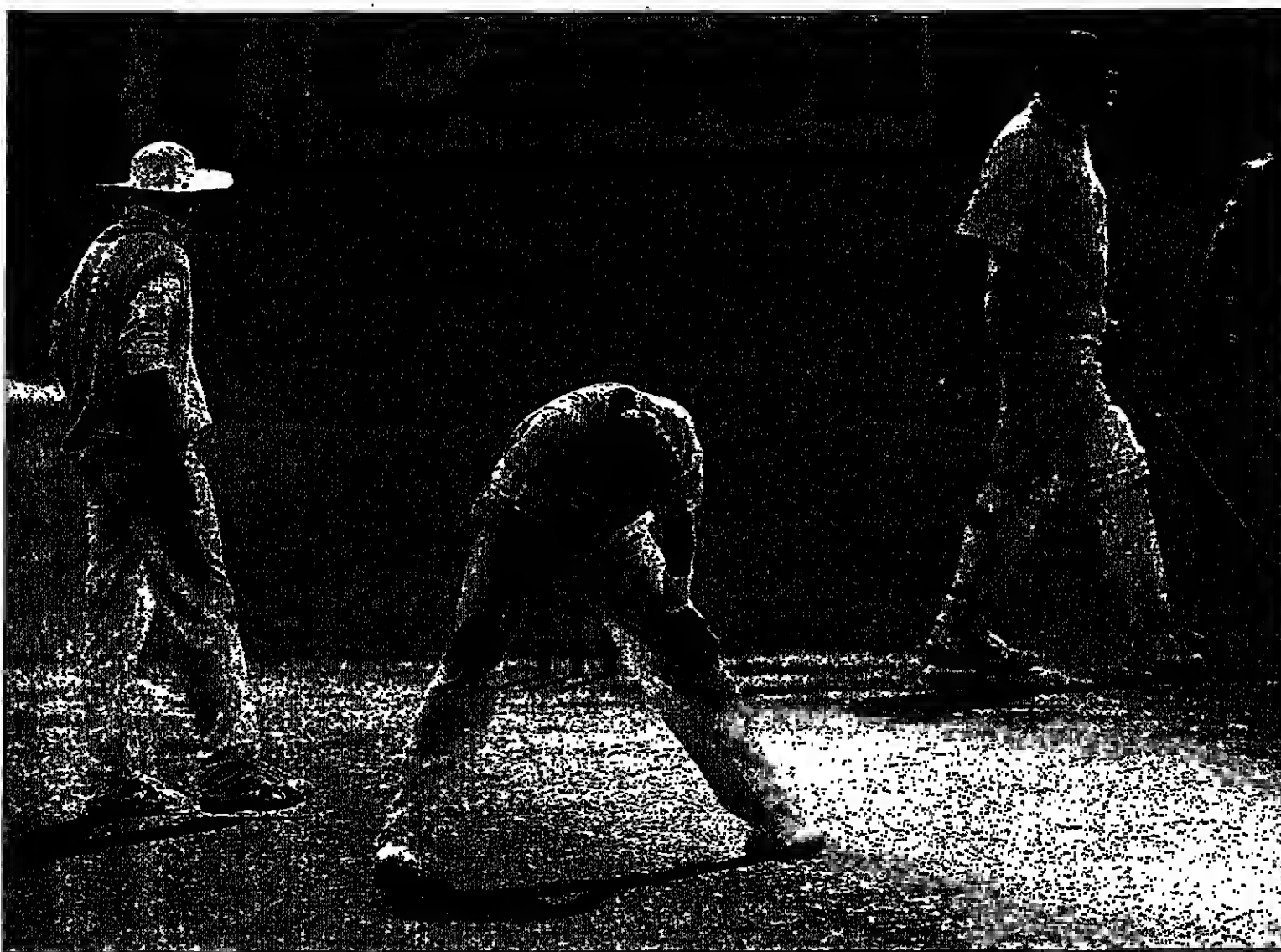
So it was that Donald, having sweated blood for 39 overs to take six of the wickets, had to conjure one last scalp.

This was high drama, played out in bright sunlight in front of a small but enthralled crowd, and Fraser was equal to the task.

He allowed the first ball to hit him in the small of the back, blocked the second with aplomb and then almost played a yorker on to his stumps. Fraser hit his lip and growled, Donald stalked back to his mark.

The next delivery ballooned from pad to short leg. The one after that, fast and short, was played down firmly to his feet.

One ball to go now, Donald turned at the end of his run, and wiped his hands before sliding in one final time. The yorker, fast and with inswing, homed in to Fraser's leg, striking him on the pad. The



Last chance... Allan Donald in despair after Angus Fraser survives an lbw appeal off what was in effect the Test's final ball. PHOTOGRAPH: LAURENCE GRIFFITHS



Jim White

### Heroes and losers ready to go down with the ship

IT HAS been the season of heroic battles against the odds, of shoulders shoved resolutely against the wheel of defeat. Yes, we are once again deep in the midst of a Dunkirk summer.

First off was Tony Adams, eulogised over the weekend as the Lion of St Etienne, a footballer of unfathomable inner resource. Then there was Matt Dawson, captain courageous, almost drowning in mud on a foreign field yet leading the England rugby team with true grit. And finally there was Alec Stewart, putting together a skipper's knock, to exemplify all that is

upright and solid about the English cricketer. As opposed to most of his colleagues who display all the vertebral consistency of jellyfish.

The fact that not one of this threesome was able to put his substantial will to winning effect has hardly lessened the scale of their renown. Indeed, their magnificence seems to have been enhanced by failure.

This is not to belittle them. Adams deserves every plaudits he has received for the single-mindedness with which he overcame limitations in technique through force of will. Dawson, chivvying and scrapping, could not be faulted in South Africa and, in alliance with the weather, was the main reason the Springboks did not compile a cricket score against the least equipped rugby team ever to embark from Britain; and Stewart played beautifully in the second innings of the third Test to confirm his position as the world's leading all-rounder.

No, the problem here is the regularity with which we as a nation have come to celebrate heroic failure. David Batley, not generally known for his perspicacity, had something sage to contribute to the subject on his return from France 98. "I don't think it will be too bad," he said of his future life as the man who missed in the penalty shoot-out. "The Brit-

ish seem to like losers." And then he smiled, perhaps comforted by the warming embrace of a king-size contract to promote pizzas.

As with his spot-kick technique, though, Batley did not get it quite right. It is not a love of losing which runs deep in our psyche, but this: the way we seem best able to face up to defeat is to post-rationalise it as heroic.

Compare, for instance, our reaction to England's demise in France 98 with the Italian media's response to their team going out from the third World Cup running on penalties. No consolation was gained in Italy from any heroism displayed by the Azzurri, or that Paolo Maldini played his socks off. Rather, analysis focused on failure of technique, failure of nerve and failure of luck.

THE big question is: this does our obsession with heroic failure somehow percolate through to affect our sporting representatives? Do they now play expecting to go down gloriously rather than to win? Psychologists spend a great deal of chargeable time telling us that, since sport is largely played in the mind, an expectation of defeat can engender a sense of inferiority. Yet look how many of our sporting encounters are routinely sold as battles against

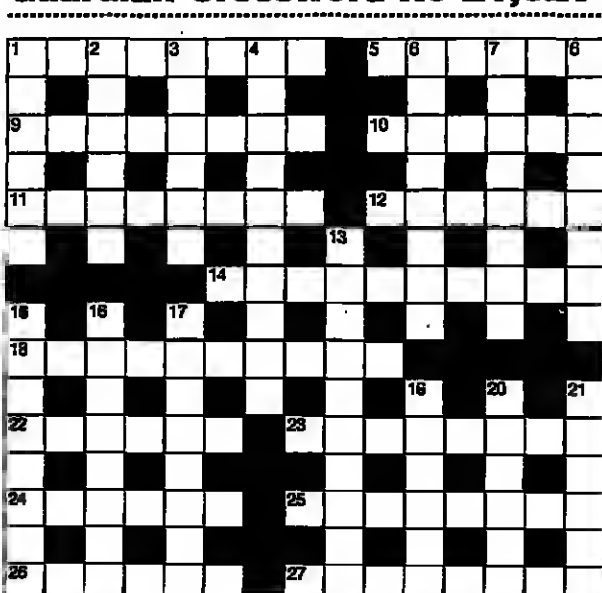
unfair advantage. Rugby matches with New Zealand are generally characterised as a rerun of Rorke's Drift, in which a few brave English lionhearts attempt simply to delay defeat against overwhelming odds.

Similarly the England football team, when engaging in matches with the world's leading nations, seem gripped by the certainty of heroic failure. These three big reverses on penalties have come after matches in which, despite out-playing opponents assumed to be superior, they appeared to have suffered from a mental block about killing them off. It is perhaps significant that England's only major win on penalties was against Spain in Euro 96, a country whose players are even more shot through with the expectation of disappointment than our own.

As this summer's choice of heroes suggests, going down with the ship may be a concept too ingrained in our collective psychology to be quickly erased, even by the thought of what Michael Owen might achieve next time around. In the meantime, it might help our self-esteem if Messrs Adams, Dawson and Stewart could rely on one or two teammates to share their indomitable spirit in the face of what increasingly looks like the inevitable.

## Guardian Crossword No 21,320

Set by Fawley



## Across

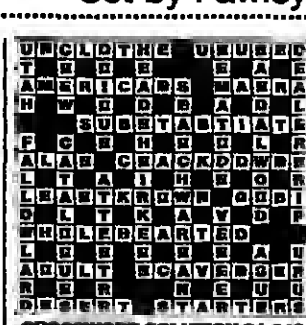
- 1,5 Cherish Christmas, perhaps? That's novel! (6,5)  
9 Newly geared up to exploit some smashing opportunities? (6)  
10 Take out socket set, and remove a blockage (6)  
11 Almost fit, having rejected hard liquor (6)

- 12 One in Gwent suffering a slight pang (6)  
14,18 Those working in this group practice may make specific demands (10,10)  
22 To cope with a constant complaint, see me outside (6)  
23 Dithering a moment, I may identify a fossil (6)  
24 Wind appears to rise rapidly (6)

- 25 I may chase little English party animal (6)  
26,27 Questioning what reaction Sellers could provoke? (6,8)

## Down

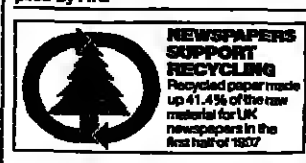
- 1 Cast could be disconcerted... (6)  
2... see when one should enter, with no problem (6)  
3,17 Curses responsible for a certain offence? (6,8)  
4 Touch bottom, finally including in repeated deceit (6,7)  
6,19 Port taken with part of meal in someone's study? (6,6)  
7 It'll have to turn up under ocean at last to appear in maps! (6)  
8 Bank on this French to show up verse that's poor (6)  
13 Can gamble, when cooking, bring in new type of dessert? (10)  
15 In some cases, stomach a gang turning up with a bit of money (6)  
16 Almost leaves over row in Border region (6)  
17 See 3  
19 See 6  
20 Element found in 4,17 and 22, showing character of fac.57 (6)  
21 Lack the initiative to detoxify soil? (6)



CROSSWORD SOLUTION 21,319

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